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THE
BOOK
OF

DUMBARTONSHIRE.



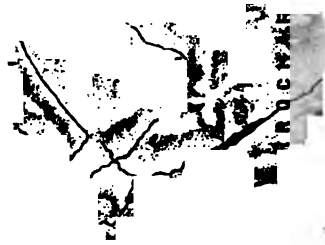
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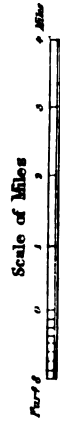
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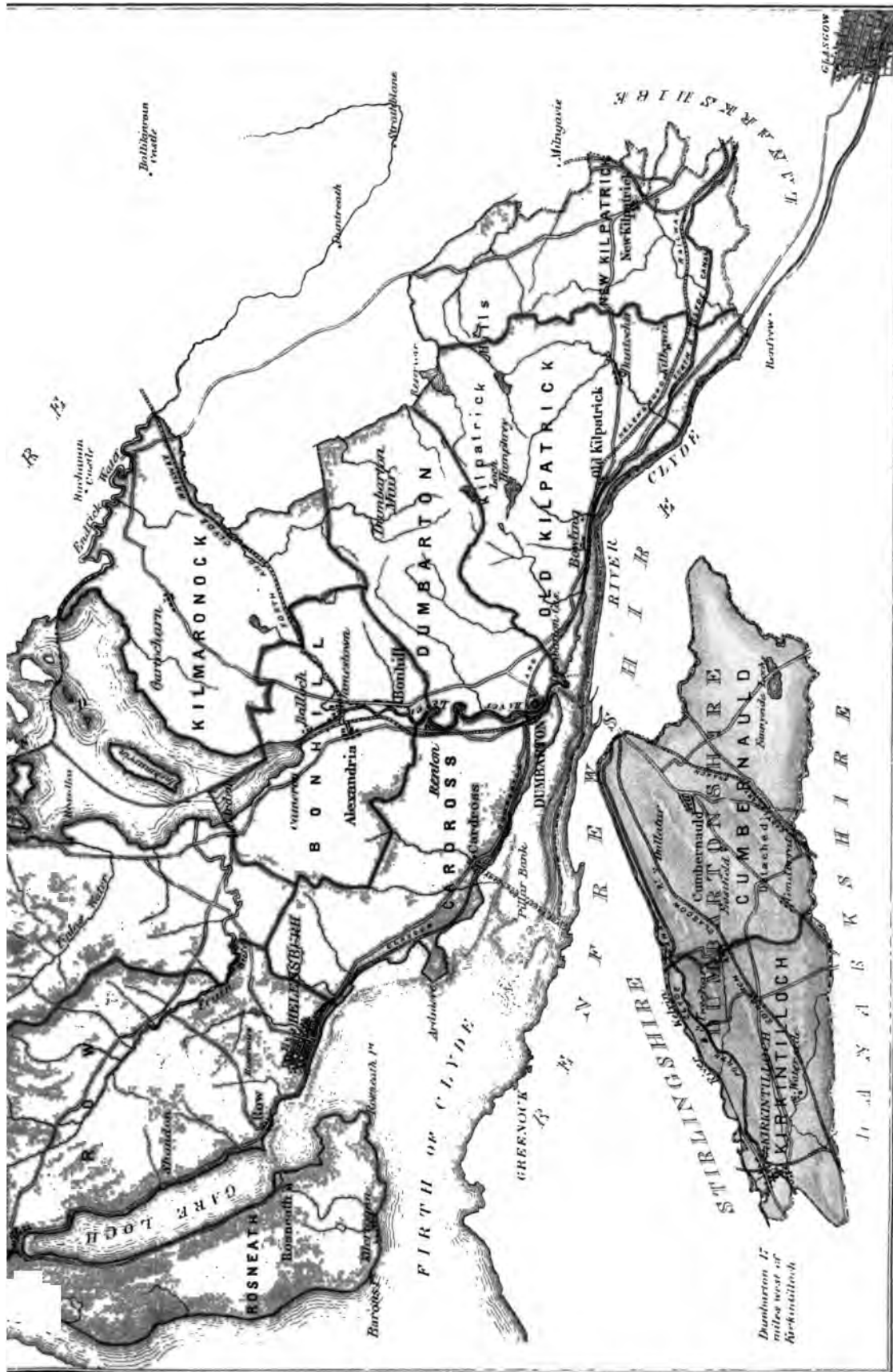
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P E R T H S H I R E



MAP OF
DUMBARTONSHIRE





THE BOOK
OF
DUMBARTONSHIRE:

A HISTORY OF THE COUNTY, BURGHS, PARISHES, AND LANDS,
MEMOIRS OF FAMILIES, AND NOTICES OF INDUSTRIES
CARRIED ON IN THE LENNOX DISTRICT.

BY
JOSEPH IRVING.

VOLUME I. COUNTY.

W. AND A. K. JOHNSTON,
EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

1879.

P R E F A C E.



ONLY a few words are necessary to explain the design of this BOOK OF DUMBARTONSHIRE. The impression of the author's HISTORY OF DUMBARTONSHIRE was so limited, that during the twenty years which have elapsed since its publication, the work has been more or less difficult to obtain. Various occurrences worthy of permanent record have also taken place in the County within that period, while the circle of readers to which such a book might fairly appeal has been greatly extended, partly by the yearly increasing number of new residents, and partly from the wider interest now felt in Topographical Literature. In these circumstances, the writer has gone minutely into the modern history of the County, retrenching in former labours what was of purely Antiquarian interest, correcting such errors as a careful revision showed to be necessary, and continuing the general narrative of affairs down to the present time. So far as concerns the Industries of the County, the Succession to Properties, and the more noteworthy details of Family History, every endeavour has been made to be at once full and accurate—minute enough to be of use for all purposes of inquiry, and interesting enough to be preserved as a permanent record of what the County is in its social, official, and business relations.

In addition to the wide sources of information previously accessible to the historian, local, family, and State papers have lately been brought to light in great abundance, and many of them are of supreme interest to all concerned, however slightly, with Dumbartonshire. Of the Ordnance Survey, completed quite recently, advantage has been taken to set forth with exactness a Map of each Parish, in addition to a trustworthy view of the entire County.

In a district not more famous for ancient historical associations than the beauty of its scenery and the comfort of its mansions, it was often regretted that so little advantage had been taken to call in the aid of Engraving or Photography for the purpose of illustrating features which lend themselves so readily to purposes of Art. An endeavour has been made in this work to give a series of Views and Portraits in a style worthy of the places and families concerned, and creditable, it is hoped, to the style of the accompanying Letterpress.

In each of these departments the desire of the author has been carried out by the publishers with much zeal, taste, and judgment. His own labour, protracted by various unforeseen occurrences, has been slight in comparison with the pains taken in the work by Messrs W. and A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh. The writer can look for no higher reward than that the *BOOK OF DUMBARTONSHIRE* may be accepted as a worthy evidence of their enterprise, as well as of the varied resources of their establishment. An endeavour has been made throughout to combine the special attractions of an elegant table-book for the drawing-room, and a useful companion in the library.

To all who have aided in its progress, by furnishing information or drawings, the author of the BOOK OF DUMBARTONSHIRE tenders his best thanks. Some who took much interest in its completion have passed beyond the reach of thanks during its progress through the press, but the Author thinks it none the less proper to remember their kindness, in closing what there is every probability will be his most important contribution to the general history of the County of Dumbarton. Inquiries connected with the task have taken up a large portion of the spare time of twenty years; but the labour has not been without enjoyment, and also, it is hoped, not altogether without interest, to readers even beyond the bounds of Dumbartonshire.

J. I.

CHRISTMAS, 1878.



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THE
BOOK OF DUMBARTONSHIRE.

—◆—
CHAPTER I.

ROMAN OCCUPATION—A.D. 81 TO 446.

SITUATION, BOUNDARIES, AND DIVISION OF THE COUNTY—PORTION OCCUPIED BY THE ROMANS—NATIVE TRIBES—WARFARE—WALL OF ANTONINUS—ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED ALONG ITS ROUTE—ROMAN PROVINCE OF VALENTIA—THEODOSIA—ROMAN TROOPS WITHDRAWN—ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF DUMBARTONSHIRE—CUSTOMS, GOVERNMENT, AND RELIGION.



SOME other writings by the author of these pages¹ having made known with sufficient minuteness the early history of the Lennox district, it is only necessary to indicate here, in the briefest manner, the boundaries within which this descriptive account is confined, and the people, or races, who first made it historically famous. In situation, the county of Dumbarton, as arranged in modern times, may be described as lying between 55° 54' and 56° 20' north latitude, and between 3° 55' and 4° 53' west longitude from Greenwich. The shape is almost triangular; one portion, from the Castle Rock, at the mouth of the Leven, extending in a northerly direction, and another from Rosneath to Cumbernauld, stretching towards the east. Though the most northerly point of the county is bounded by Perthshire, yet Stirlingshire, as forming the hypothenuse of the triangle, is the principal boundary

¹ "History of Dumbartonshire," 8vo, 1857. | Territorial," 4to, 1860. "A Lennox Garland,"
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on that and also on the eastern side of the district first mentioned. The boundary on the west is Argyllshire; and on the south, the counties of Renfrew and Lanark,—this southern boundary being in part well defined by the channel of the Clyde, from Kelvinmouth to the entrance of Lochlong. Exclusive of the parishes of Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld, lying about six miles to the east of the main body of the county, the extreme length of Dumbartonshire, from Kelvin Bridge in East Kilpatrick, to Inverarnan in Arrochar, is fully forty miles; while the breadth varies from two miles between Tarbet and Lochlongside, to eighteen between the extreme limit of Kilmaronock and Rosneath parishes. Inclusive of the isolated portion of the county referred to (which contains fully thirty-two square miles), Dumbartonshire may be said to cover an extent of 260 square miles, or about 166,000 square acres. For parochial purposes, the county is divided into the twelve following parishes:—Arrochar, Bonhill, Cardross, Cumbernauld, Dumbarton, Kilmaronock, Kilpatrick (East), Kilpatrick (West), Kirkintilloch, Luss, Rosneath, and Row. Certain variations in these boundaries and divisions will be found under the heads of Earldom, Sherifffdom, Regality, and Deanery of Lennox.

A few words on the early inhabitants of the district is all that is necessary to be said here regarding a controversy, learned and voluminous, and far from being settled in the present day. Nor is it wonderful, from the uncertain light thrown on the subject by early Roman writers, that among a body so little given to unanimity as antiquaries, the ethnological peculiarities of ancient Britain should have given rise to discussions so endless, as almost to have obscured what it was intended to illustrate.¹ As the first authentic knowledge we have of South Britain dates from the invasion of Julius Cæsar,

¹ One of the most restless of the race is described by Scott in his "Bannatyne" song —

"John Pinkerton next, and I'm truly concerned
I can't call that worthy so candid or learned;
He railed at the plaid and blasphemed the claymore,
And set Scots by the ears in his one volume more."

so the best information to be had regarding the northern portion of the island, dates from the invasion of another Roman conqueror, Cnæus Julius Agricola. About 140 years after Cæsar had effected a landing on the shores of Kent, in A.D. 80, Agricola, who had been appointed Roman governor of Britain by the Emperor Vespasian, commenced his victorious career, by subduing the native tribes in those districts now comprehended in the Western and Midland counties of England. Following the account given of Agricola's exploits in the work generally attributed to his son-in-law Tacitus, it appears that in the campaign undertaken the year after his arrival, the mountainous region extending from the Solway to the Frith of Forth on the east side, and to the Frith of Clyde on the west side of the island, was subdued and overrun by the army under his command. Across the isthmus, between these two friths, a chain of forts was erected to preserve the territory thus acquired, and much time and labour employed in trying to carry out the difficult enterprise of "removing the remaining inhabitants, as it were, into another territory." In the summer of 83, when Agricola found himself face to face with the real Caledonii, or "people of the woods," the latter commenced offensive operations by attacking the Roman forts on the isthmus between the Forth and Clyde, which had been left without adequate defence. No way discouraged by this attack, Agricola, though surrounded by enemies, and in a country comparatively unknown, rejected the advice of several of his officers to retreat, before he was driven back by the warlike tribes who had given such evidence of their courage; and arranging his forces under three divisions, defeated the Caledonians, with great slaughter, in a battle which soon after took place in the territory of the Horestii. The principal event in the seventh and last campaign of Agricola, undertaken in A.D. 84, was the great battle at the foot of the Grampians, where the native chief Galgacus, with an army numbering, it is said, 30,000 men, was defeated, and driven still farther

northward. Soon after this victory, the Roman general, under pretence of receiving high honours, was recalled to Rome by Domitian, and ended his days there, under strong suspicion of having been poisoned. About this period North Britain is reported as being peopled by no fewer than thirty-one distinct tribes, all descended from a common Celtic stock, and possessing many customs in common, yet exercising independent sovereignty within their respective territories, and frequently waging war among themselves.

Such scanty information as is to be had regarding these tribes, is chiefly furnished by the work bearing the name of Ptolemy, an eminent member of the Alexandrine school of geographers, who flourished about the middle of the second century. He is reputed to have prepared a map of the whole island, pervaded, as appears on the face of it, by the radical error of extending the northern part into the German Ocean instead of the North Sea,¹ but is still useful and interesting, as showing the districts reputed to be occupied by the different tribes in his day. In the portion corresponding to modern Dumbartonshire, between the apparent west side of *Λελααννονιος κολπος*, or Lochfine, and the east side of the *Κλωτα εισχυσις*, or Frith of Clyde, he places the Gadeni, a tribe extending over only a limited space compared with many by whom they were surrounded, but which, no doubt, preserved characteristics distinctive enough to warrant its appearance in the map of the old geographers. What these characteristics were, it would be vain now to inquire, and speculation equally profitless. Nor is it necessary to enlarge upon them, for

¹ Pinkerton thus explains this embarrassing mistake: Ptolemy having assumed the latitude of Thule at nearly 63°, and fixed the longest day in Thule at twenty hours, was constrained to bend Scotland to the east, there being otherwise no space for its real extent. For, having carried Vedera to 58° 30' instead of 55°, if Scotland had been

truly laid down, Cape Orcas would have been 64°, or one degree farther north than Thule, while he knew that both the Orkneys and the northern part of Britain were to the south of Thule. Truth was thus sacrificed to a mathematical theory founded on false premises — "Inquiry," vol. i. p. 35.

there is still a doubt whether the Gadeni, or another tribe, regarding whose excesses history is not silent, were the original inhabitants of Dumbartonshire. A somewhat doubtful authority, known as Richard, a monk of Cirencester, reputed to have lived towards the close of the fourteenth century, mentions, in his "Itinerary" of the Roman conquests in Britain, that the Gadeni lived southward to the Tweed, and indicates in their place in Ptolemy's map, a tribe known as the Attacotti or Eithacœti. Judging from this authority, their territory appears to have extended from Lochfine on the west to Lochlomond on the east, and as far south, at least, as the line of forts built by Agricola, where they met with the Damnii, a tribe spreading over the neighbouring counties of Renfrew and Stirling. Writing of them, the monk says: "Lower down, on the banks of the Clotta (Clyde) than the Damnii, dwelt the Attacotti, a people once formidable to all Britain. In this part is situated the great lake called Lynchalidor (Lochlomond), at the mouth of which the city of Alcluith was built by the Romans, and not long after received its name from Theodosia, who recovered that province from the barbarians. These people," continues Richard, "deserved high praise for having sustained the attacks of the enemy after the subjugation of the neighbouring provinces."¹ The Attacotti appear nowhere in Ptolemy's map; and Pinkerton, throwing aside, in his usual contemptuous style, the unsupported testimony of the monk of Cirencester, asserts that they were not known in Britain when Ptolemy lived, but formed the earliest colony of Gaelic-Celts, who

¹ As the passage in Richard's monkish record has a kind of local interest, it may be as well to quote exactly:—"Inferius adhuc Clottæ ripas accolebant Attacoti, gens toti aliquando olim Britanniae formidanda. Maxumus hic visitur lacus, cuinomen olim Lyncalidor, ad cujus ostium condita a Ro-

manis urbs Alcluith, brevi, tempore a duce Theodosio nomen sortita, qui occupatam a barbaris provinciam recuperaverat: cum hac comparare potuit nulla; utpote quæ port fructas cæteras circumjacentes provincias impetum hostium ultimo sustinuit."—"Richard of Cirencester," lib. iv.

arrived from Ireland about the middle of the third century. Savage and remorseless as the other tribes are known to have been, the Attacotti are alleged to have indu'ged in atrocities peculiar to themselves. From a passage in Jerome, it appears that when they hunted the woods for prey, they attacked the shepherd quite as readily as the flock, and selected, with great care, the most delicate and brawny parts of the body for their horrid repast. Gibbon, in alluding to the passage, says he finds no reason to question the veracity of the statement, and remarks that if in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary city of Glasgow a race of cannibals really existed, we may contemplate in the period of Scottish history the opposite extremes of savage and civilized life.

For a period of fully thirty years, from the death of Agricola to the accession of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 117, little notice is taken of Britain by contemporary writers; and it is therefore inferred that during the most of that time the native tribes were so thoroughly subdued as to cause little trouble or danger to the new settlers. In this year, however, the incursions made by them into Roman territory were so frequent that the Emperor found it necessary to repair in person to the distant scene of hostilities for the purpose of consolidating the imperial rule. With this view he virtually abandoned the territory fortified by Agricola between the Forth and the south-east part of Dumbartonshire, and erected a strong wall, about eighty miles further south, between the Solway Firth and the lower part of the River Tyne. This is the famous south barrier, or Wall of Hadrian, so interesting to scholars as a study of Roman art, imperial power, and military foresight.¹ Twenty years later, Lollius Urbicus, who had been appointed Governor of Britain by Antoninus Pius, again advanced the Roman boundary

¹ See "Hadrian's Wall," by Rev. J. C. Bruce, a scholar who has made the remains of the barrier of the Lower Isthmus a life study.

from the lower wall to the chain of forts built by Agricola, and erected along their line a barrier of such solidity as to be visible, in some places, at the present day. With this northern barrier, or Wall of Antoninus, is associated some of the most interesting pages in the history of Dumbartonshire. Though mentioned by Capitolinus, who flourished in the third century, and Bede, who flourished in the seventh, it was till the time of Camden a matter of conjecture when and by whom this great northern rampart was reared; but from coins and monumental inscriptions dug up along its course, this industrious antiquary satisfactorily proved that the wall, the ditch, and the military way, which extended conjointly from Caer-riden on the Forth to the present village of West Kilpatrick on the Clyde, if not to Dunglass and the Rock of Dumbarton itself, were constructed during the reign of Antoninus Pius, and by the orders of his lieutenant, Lollius Urbicus. The researches of Gordon, Horsley, Roy, and Stuart, while they furnish corroborative evidence regarding the date of its erection, have otherwise made the Wall of Antoninus one of the best known of all the Roman remains in Britain. It unfortunately happens, however, that the means by which this information was obtained tended greatly to the detriment, and in many places to the destruction of every vestige of this interesting antiquity. In quieter times, when easy communication rather than efficient military defence came to be needed, the track of the Wall marked the leading highway between the Forth and Clyde. It was next the best route engineering skill could devise for a canal to connect the two seas; and when this in its turn came to be superseded by the railway, the shortest path and the easiest gradients were still marked by the Wall of Antoninus. Thus, in traversing the district, the traveller of to-day has under his eye all the means of communication existing in the island, and also an opportunity of contrasting the triumphs of modern science with a work characteristic at once of the power and forethought of imperial Rome.

The sculptured stones, the brazen urns, and the varied coinage buried along its route, were the only memorials which truly enshrined the history of the Wall ; and though its destruction almost invariably preceded their discovery, it was a sacrifice far from being unprofitable, however grievous it might be to the enthusiastic antiquary. Instead of being, as for ages it was, the subject of dim uncertain tradition, its origin and uses are now fully known, and its history better ascertained than many recent erections.

The barrier of Antoninus consisted, first, of a ditch, generally about twenty feet deep and forty feet wide, and which there is some reason for supposing could be filled with water in certain parts as occasion required ; secondly, of a rampart within the ditch, upwards of twenty feet high and twenty-four feet thick, built of earth on a stone foundation ; and thirdly, of a military road, which, as a necessary appendage, ran within the rampart from end to end, for the use of the Roman troops and the usual communication between the stations on the line. Three legions appear to have been principally concerned in the execution of this work,—the second, surnamed Augusta, the sixth, Victrix, and the twentieth Valens Victrix. There is considerable difference of opinion among antiquaries as to the eastern and also the western termination of the Wall. Bede says it extended from Abercurnig (Abercorn) to Alcluith (Dumbarton), and there is no credible authority extant to refute him ; but several modern inquirers, placing more reliance upon the traces observable in their day, fix its termination on the east side at Carriden, and on the west at the village of Old Kilpatrick in Dumbartonshire. As this portion of it was accurately surveyed by Roy and others, the distance between these points is established to be 63,980 yards, or nearly thirty-seven miles. Along the entire line, and at intervals varying from two to three miles, strong stations or forts were erected, and between these again smaller castella and watch towers, adding greatly to the strength and usefulness of the

vallum.¹ It is from a consideration of this kind there appears good ground for believing that a line of forts in connection with the Wall, if not the Wall itself, was carried as far west as the Rock of Dumbarton. One obvious reason for such an extension of the barrier was the protection of the fords on the Clyde between Kilpatrick and Dumbarton. Within the memory of men still living, the Clyde opposite the church of West Kilpatrick was quite shallow, and lower down, between Dunglass and Dumbarton, there was the ford of Dumbuck, which, when surveyed by Mr Watt in 1769, had only two feet of water at ebb tide, and for an extent of 600 yards up and down, the Clyde at this spot had not more than three feet. The state of the river at these places is not likely to have been greatly different in the first century, and this circumstance, it is believed by many, must have suggested to the Roman conquerors the policy of covering these fords, by which the Caledonians might otherwise so easily have passed into the newly-acquired territory. Nennius as well as Bede among the ancients, and Camden among the moderns, carry the *prætenturæ* as far west as Dumbarton. Sir Robert Sibbald, in giving an account of the Wall, about the end of the seventeenth century, says the west part of it was accurately traced by the royal historiographer, Dr Irvine, who had several times travelled over it. The forts he (Dr I.) observed on the track were (1.) at Dumbarton, a great fort; (2.) the Castle, half a mile from the town; (3.) a fort at the foot of Dumbuck-hill; (4.) a fort at Dunglass; (5.) a fort at Chapel-hill, above the town of West Kilpatrick, and so on along the remaining well-known forts in Dumbartonshire. Another reason for supposing Dumbarton to have been included within the Wall is furnished by the fact that, in after years, Theodosius made the town there the capital of the Roman

¹ The regularity of these smaller towers | Wall was surveyed in 1755, not more than
is in a great measure conjectural. When the | two could be clearly traced.—Roy, p. 156.

province of Valentia, which province, it is acknowledged on all hands, was bounded by the barrier of Hadrian on the south, and that of Antoninus on the north. The Rock of Dumbarton was no doubt of itself important to him as a military station, commanding as it did the passage of the Clyde, and forming the site of such a town as existed in his day; but these considerations alone could hardly have induced him to fix the seat of government there, if the fortress had not also been included within the great Wall of Antoninus. Had that erection ended at either Kilpatrick or Dungallass, the capital of Valentia would not have been within the province of that name, but exactly beyond it, and thus exposed to all the attacks of hostile tribes, against whom, at times, the Wall itself formed but a feeble barrier. A slight notice in the "Annals of Ulster," is corroborative of this opinion. A.D. 869:—*Hoc anno urbs Alclud, ab olim tam famosa quæ ad occidentalem extremitatem illius famosi muri sita est per Dacos funditus est deleta:—*In that year "the city of Alclud, so famous of old, which is situate at the western extremity of that famous Wall, was utterly destroyed."

No antiquities indicating the presence of Roman legions have been discovered between Dumbarton and the neighbourhood of Kilpatrick; and as it is in their light alone that the Roman period of our local history can be clearly unravelled, it is desirable to commence our survey at the first well-defined fort. This is Chapelhill, situated about a quarter of a mile west of the village of Old Kilpatrick. In 1695 two sculptured stones were found here, illustrative of the building of the Wall: one, a square slab bearing the following inscription enclosed in a plain border:—"IMP. C. T AELIO HADRIANO. ANTONINO. AVG. P. P. VEX. LEG. VI. VIC. P. F. OPVS. VALLI P ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ C.XLI."—Thus showing that the vexillation of the Sixth Legion, having formed 4141 paces of the Wall, erected the stone in honour of the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus, the father of his country. The other stone, which is broken and defaced,

is a record of the labours of the Twentieth Legion, and bears an inscription somewhat similar in character to the above, with the addition of a sculptured figure supposed to represent Victory. A third stone, found about the same time at Chapel-hill (see fig. 1) is a more ambitious effort than either of the above. Enclosed in a kind of Corinthian portico is a winged figure of Victory reclining upon a globe, and holding in one hand a palm branch, while the other points to an oaken wreath encircling "VEX LEG. XXV FE."¹ On the tympanum is an inscription in honour of Antoninus, similar to what is given on the stone first mentioned, and on the pedestal a wild boar, and figures indicating that the work there completed by the Twentieth Legion extended to 4411 paces.

At the distance of 3570 yards from the church of Kilpatrick was situated what is now known as the Duntocher fort. When seen by Gordon in 1725, it was in good preservation, exhibiting an enclosure nearly square, protected by two ramparts with a ditch between them; he says there was a single entrance on the southern side, but Horsley discovered another on the eastern rampart, connected with the main line of the barrier by a small branch road. Roy thus describes the remains as seen in his day on approaching Duntocher from the west: "Proceeding from Old Kilpatrick, the first faint vestiges of the ditch are to be seen after crossing Sandyford Burn. These, however, soon disappear, and are not to be discerned again before reaching the Gateside of Auchentoshan, where the fosse is perceivable, as well as the military way to the southward of it. The traces of the former are, nevertheless, lost immediately, but recovered anew on the height between that place and the village of Duntocher, along which it seems to have passed,

¹ These contractions may be thus extended: VEXILLATIO LEGIONIS VICESIMAE VALENTIS VICTRICIS FECIT,—“The vexillation of the Twentieth Legion (surnamed) the Valiant performed,” etc. etc.

and probably crossed the river where the present bridge stands.¹ Several interesting relics have been found in and about the fort at Duntocher. A stone, indicating the execution of 4270 paces by the Second Legion, adorned the gateway leading to Cochno, for a number of years; before being entirely destroyed by the weather, this tablet was wisely removed, along with many others, to the Museum of the University of Glasgow. A small votive altar was found in 1829, on cutting drains in a marshy portion of the farm of Easter Duntiglennan. The letters I. O. M. (Iovi Optimo Maximo) were quite discernible on it at first, but being used by the discoverer to ornament the eaves of his cottage, it became gradually defaced, and but for the attention of a zealous antiquary, might have shared the fate of the house, which was demolished a few years since.² In June 1812, there was found, on the farm of Broadfield, near Duntocher fort, one of the most ornate stones that has probably been discovered along the whole line (see fig. 2). Here two winged Victories, supported on either side by a Roman soldier, bear a tablet, inscribed as before to Antoninus, and indicating the length of Wall executed by the Sixth Legion (the Victorious).³

¹ The bridge at Duntocher was long reputed to be of Roman origin, but it cannot fairly claim such high antiquity in any other sense, than that the stones composing it may have been used by the Romans in the construction of their Wall or adjoining fort.

³ The inscription may be extended thus—

IMPERATORI CAESARI
TITO AELIO HADRIANO
ANTONINO AUGUSTO PIO
PATRI PATRIAE
VEXILLATIO LEGIONIS
SEXTAE VICTRICES
PERFECIT OPUS VALLI
PER X X CXLI PASSUM.

² This altar passed into the possession of John Buchanan, Esq., LL.D., Glasgow, who has devoted great attention to the antiquities of the Wall of Antoninus. It has since been presented by him, along with some other Roman antiquities, to the Museum of Glasgow University.

To the Emperor Cæsar
Titus Aelius Hadrianus
Antoninus Augustus
The father of his country,
The vexillation of
The Sixth Legion the Victorious (dedicates this)
Having executed of the Wall
3240 paces.



ROMAN REMAINS FOUND IN DUMBARTONSHIRE.

The dress of the soldiers is unusually perfect in design; one supports a spear with his right hand, and rests with his left on his scutum or buckler; the other bears a scabbard in his left, and supports with his right a banner bearing the words VIRT. AVG. or Virtus Augusti.¹

In 1775, when some labourers were turning up the ground in the neighbourhood of the fort, a large stone was come upon which was found to cover a vaulted chamber $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep and 10 in diameter, and which communicated with other two of nearly equal size. An earthen jar of common workmanship was found in one of these chambers, and also a female figure about a foot in length, formed of reddish clay, long afterwards knocked about the village under the name of "Dancing Mall."² About the same time, and close beside these subterranean apartments, a sudatorium was laid bare; a few years later some choice fragments of Roman pottery were discovered; and from time to time, since then, gold, silver, and bronze coins have been found in such numbers, as would lead to the belief that Duntocher was a place of some importance during the reign of the Romans in Britain.

From Duntocher the Wall appears to have taken a slightly southerly direction till it reached a rivulet now known as Cleddin Burn, where it stretched almost direct east to Castle-hill, the next fort on the line, and which is distant from Duntocher 3450 yards, or rather less than two miles. All trace of the rampart is

¹ This fine stone is preserved in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, and has been engraved in their Catalogue of Roman Antiquities.

² This incident is given substantially as it appears in the late Mr Stuart's work,

"Caledonia Romana;" but we have often heard it authenticated by the son of the individual (John Bulloch), who was among the first to enter the chamber when the discovery was made.

now obliterated at this point; but Roy seems to have observed them with more or less distinctness, and mentions that the space enclosed measured about 300 by 220 feet. In the spring of 1865, the farmer at Hutchisonhill, while trenching a field on his southern slope, came upon an inscribed stone, dedicated, as usual, to the Emperor, and indicating that at this portion of the route a vexillation of the Twentieth Legion had completed 3000 paces of the Wall.¹ From Castle-hill the Wall generally may be said to have taken a south-easterly direction, till it reached the important fort of East Kilpatrick, where, after a slight bend in that direction, it turns northward towards Ferguston Moor, the hollow of the ditch there being yet traceable, and then southward again to the important fort of Bemulie, situated a few yards to the east side of the Kelvin.² From this point it appears to have proceeded in an almost straight line east through the debateable land formed by the junction of the three neighbouring counties, till it enters again the detached portion of Dumbartonshire at Kirkintilloch, where a strong fort was erected, and continues along the northern side of this and the neighbouring parish of Cumbernauld, till it enters the county of Stirling at

¹ Much against the wishes of antiquarians interested in the remains of the northern barrier, this isolated stone was removed to America, where it could hardly ever be expected to fit in to any continuous series, and ultimately perished in the great fire of Chicago, 1871. Casts, taken before its removal, are in the Museums at Glasgow and Newcastle.

² A portion of the old hamlet of East Kilpatrick, and many of the moss-covered drystone-dykes in the neighbourhood, are built with stones taken from the mouldering

rampart. Quite recently, the ground forming the Kilpatrick camp, the largest on the line, though not of late years the most distinctly traced, was feued out, with some adjoining parks, for the erection of villas. Instead of preserving, as far as possible, the identity of this old fort, by calling it Chester or Caerleon, or anything suggestive of the presence of a Roman garrison of probably 500 men, the new place bears the somewhat uncouth name of Bearsden. It is to be hoped that this may yet be altered for the better.

Castlecary. In this part of its route were erected what is now known as the forts of Auchendavy (the eighth on the line proceeding eastward), Barhill, Croy, and Westerwood. Legionary stones, similar in appearance to those already noticed, have been discovered at most of these stations; and in addition, at Auchendavy, four Roman altars, in fine preservation, were found in 1771, during the progress of the works of the Forth and Clyde Canal (see fig. 3).¹ They varied from twenty-eight to forty-one inches in height, but differed little in design, and bore to have all been set up by the same individual—M. Cocceius Firmus, a centurion in the Second Legion. In the summer of 1868, a stone, broken through the centre, but otherwise of an unusually interesting description, was unearthed on the farm of Arniebog, Cumbernauld, about one mile west from the Castlecary fort. Above and on the left side of the stone, the Roman artist has shown a well-drawn figure of Neptune, and beneath a captive Briton, the latter with his head turned slightly to one side, as if suiting himself to execution by a sword stroke from his conquerors.²

Having traced the route of the Wall through Dumbartonshire,

¹ The inscription on this altar, probably the finest of the set, may be extended thus—

JOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO
VICTORIAE VICTRICI
PRO SALUTE IMPER
ATORIS ANTONINI
ET SUA SUORUM
M. COCCEIUS FIRMUS
CENTURIO LEGIONIS
SECUNDAE AUGUSTAE.

To Jove the best and greatest
To Victory the Vanquisher
for the
welfare of the Emperor Antoninus
and of his (Family)
M. Cocceius Firmus
centurion in the Second
Legion Augusta.

² See Fig. 4. In a paper on this stone, prepared for the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, by J. Buchanan, Esq., LL.D., the countenance is described as that of a young man of about twenty-two years of age; the features not at all savage; the nose good, slightly

aquiline; no beard or moustache, the hair rather short, and plaited around the brow; the body plump and muscular; the whole figure exhibiting a strong well-built man. The captive is represented naked, on one knee, with his arms tied behind his back.

it is necessary, at this point, to describe briefly some incidents in the history of the district connected with its occupation by the Roman legions.¹ During the administration of Lollius Urbicus, a measure worthy of the Emperor, who has justly been denominated the second Numa, was carried into effect in Britain, and which extended the rights of Roman citizenship over this, as over every other part of the Roman Empire. To this period can also be traced the formation of those great roads traversing in every direction the territory lying between the northern and southern Walls, and which, by promoting intercourse, served at once to consolidate the power of the conquerors, and to elevate and civilize the native tribes. In A.D. 161, the death of Antoninus is thought to have put an end to the wise and energetic rule of Lollius in Britain. Twenty years of turmoil then followed a similar period of quiet. Another Agricola was despatched by Aurelius, and Marcellus by Commodus, to keep in check the tribes who had broken through the northern barrier, and laid waste the country as far south as the Wall of Hadrian. They succeeded for a time in driving back the native races; but during the intestine troubles which ensued upon the assassination of the last-named Emperor, the Roman rule was maintained with difficulty in North Britain, and the protection afforded to our rude forefathers within the Wall, was of the most meagre description. It

¹ The reader who is desirous of further information connected with the Antonine Wall, may consult with profit the several works referred to in the text, particularly the "Caledonia Romana" by the late Robert Stuart. He not only popularizes the abstruse labours of his predecessors, but corrects various errors into which theory or inadvertence had led them, and above all, adds from his own patient researches, such a mass of

new information as makes it a most valuable text-book on all matters connected with the Roman remains in North Britain. The labours of Mr Stuart, and his friend Mr Buchanan, formerly referred to, have been honourably mentioned in the learned work of Professor Hübner (Berlin), giving an account of the most interesting Roman remains found over the vast Empire subject to Imperial rule, from the Indus to the Grampians.

was not till the close of the reign of Severus (A.D. 209), that decisive measures were taken to expel the hostile tribes from the protected territory, or to repair the many breaches made by them in the Wall of Antoninus, and also in the more southern rampart between the Tyne and the Solway. He penetrated as far north as the promontory separating the Cromarty and Moray Friths, where, it is said, the native tribes a second time sought the presence of the conqueror, and to ensure peace not only surrendered their arms but relinquished a portion of their territory. These promises were but indifferently fulfilled; for scarcely had Severus withdrawn his army within the Wall of Hadrian than he learned that the Caledonians were again engaged in hostilities; and the old Emperor, whose declining days were rendered miserable by physical infirmity and family quarrels, died at York, issuing orders to wage a war in which neither age nor sex was to be spared. But his son Caracalla, tired of a warfare which could not be attended by any important consequences, and anxious, at the same time, to carry out his ambitious projects in the Imperial City, hastily concluded a peace with the Caledonians, and is supposed to have relinquished to them the territory between the Walls so recently recovered.

It has been conjectured, with some show of reason, that the invasion of Severus is connected with that shining period of British history or fable when the heroes of Ossian lived and fought. Fingal (says Gibbon) is thought to have commanded the Caledonians at this time, and obtained a signal victory on the banks of the Carron, in which the son of the king of the world Caracu fled from his arms along the field of his pride. That the fortress of Dumbarton was the Balclutha of Ossian is admitted by nearly every commentator, though a similar unanimity does not prevail on the question, whether this Ossian was the real bard of Celtic tradition, or an invention of Macpherson's? But apart from this genuineness, the poems possess

a wild beauty which is not added to by their ancient, nor detracted from by their modern, origin.¹

Eighty years after the death of Severus, or in A.D. 288, Carausius, whom Ossian describes as the "King of Ships," assumed the imperial title in Britain, and while he defied the efforts made to displace him by Diocletian and Maximian, defended with courage

¹ It was of Balclutha Fingal spoke, when
 "the thousand bards leaned forward from
 their seats to hear the voice which was like
 the music of harps on the gale of the spring."
 Here Rathmoor reigned as chief; "the feeble
 dwelt in his hall; his gates were never shut,
 and his feast always spread Bards raised the
 song, and touched the harp; joy brightened
 the face of the sad." It was at Balclutha
 where Comahal, "the restless wanderer of
 the heath," fought with Clessammor, who
 came in his bounding ship to the "walls of
 towers;" here, too, lived Moina, the cause of
 their dispute, and whose ghost the bard after-
 wards sees, "like the new moon seen through
 the gathered mist, when the sky pours down
 its flaky snow, and the world is silent and
 dark." "I have seen (he continues in Carthon)
 the walls of Balclutha, but they were desolate.
 The fire had resounded in the halls, and the
 voice of the people is heard no more. The
 stream of Clutha was removed from its place
 by the fall of the walls. The thistle shook
 there its lonely head: the moss whistled to
 the wind. The fox looked out from the
 windows: the rank grass of the hall waved
 round its head. Desolate is the dwelling of
 Moina: silence is in the house of her fathers.
 Raise the song of mourning, O bards, over
 the land of strangers. They have but fallen
 before us, for one day we must fall. Why
 dost thou build the wall, son of the winged
 days? Thou lookest from thy towers to-day;

yet a few years and the blast of the desert
 comes; it howls in thy empty court, and
 whistles round thy half-worn shield." The
 stories of "Cathlin of Clutha," and "Carthon
 and Colmal," are also associated with Bal-
 clutha and its chiefs, but we fear we have
 already more than sufficiently indicated the
 important place it occupies in the song of
 one whose era, country, and very existence,
 have all been disputed. "Something of a
 doubtful mist," says Gibbon, "still hangs
 over these Highland traditions, nor can it
 be entirely dispelled by the most ingenious
 researches of modern criticism; but if we
 could with safety indulge the pleasing suppo-
 sition that Fingal lived, and that Ossian sung,
 the striking contrast of the situation and man-
 ners of the contending nations, might amuse
 a philosophic mind. The parallel would be
 little to the advantage of the more civilized
 people, if we compared the unrelenting re-
 venge of Severus with the generous clemency
 of Fingal; the timid and brutal cruelty of
 Caracalla, with the bravery, the tenderness,
 the elegant genius of Ossian; the mercenary
 chiefs who from motives of fear or interest,
 served under the imperial standard, with the
 free-born warriors who started to arms at
 the voice of the king of Morven; if, in a
 word, we contemplated the untutored Cale-
 donians glowing with the warm virtues of
 nature, and the degenerate Romans polluted
 with the mean vices of slavery."

and ability the frontiers of the Roman province against the attack made upon it by the Caledonians. For another eighty years following the assassination of Carausius, classic writers are again silent respecting Britain, and the inference is as before that during this time peace reigned within the district subjected to Roman rule. When it reappears in the page of history, the native tribes are found for the first time designated as Picts, Scots, and Attacotti, all of whom, according to Ammainus Marcellinus, tormented the Britons within the walls with continual misfortunes.

In the early part of the reign of the Emperor Valentinian (A.D. 367), these tribes were again in arms against the Roman troops, and also the Britons, who had submitted to them in the south of the island. It is even affirmed, though on doubtful authority, that they pillaged Augusta, the London of modern times, and carried off a number of its inhabitants as slaves. To repress these excesses the Emperor despatched northward the wise and valiant Theodosius, who once more drove the native tribes beyond the Wall of Antoninus; and with the view of firmly maintaining the Roman power in the north of the island, formally converted the country between the Walls into a Roman province. This was named Valentia, in honour of Valens, whom the reigning Emperor had early associated with himself in the cares of government. Of this new province Alcluith (Dumbarton) was made the capital, and is frequently alluded to by early writers under the name of Theodosia. It is even affirmed by monkish historians that the city owed its origin to the victorious general whose name it bore; but it is thought that long before his time a town had sprung up there, and acquired considerable importance from the natural advantages of its site. Ill fitted as the native tribes were for systematic warfare, it is hardly possible to believe they could be blind to the advantages offered by the Rock of Dumbarton for purposes of attack as well as defence. Geoffrey of Monmouth carries the date of the city of Alcluith as far back

as one Ebraucus, the son of Menpricius, who reigned in Britain at the time the Royal Psalmist swayed the sceptre of Judah. But as this credulous compiler must have often been at a loss to complete his series of British kings from Brutus downward, little reliance can be placed on the extraordinary narrative he has put together. Geoffrey records, in the next chapter, that this Ebraucus was so far like the son of his Eastern contemporary, as to be blessed with a family of fifty children, by twenty wives. Chalmers thinks that the early Roman conquerors had a fort and also a harbour at Dunglass; but as their fleet must have been embarrassed by the shoal at Dumbuck, the principal harbour, as well as the commodious mart of the Romans, must have been at Dumbarton, the Theodosia of the Lower Empire.¹ Presuming, however, that the *prætentura* was carried as far west as Dumbarton, it is more than likely that the town, lying as it did at the extreme limit of the Roman dominion, must have been often the object of attack by the warlike tribes who dwelt to the northward, but whom we have found frequently penetrating far south of the barrier erected against them. In making ancient Dumbarton the capital of Valentia, Theodosius may therefore be easily supposed to have repaired and refortified it to such an extent as almost entitled posterity to award him the honour of being its founder. As regards the situation of this town, it is not likely to have extended much beyond the limits of the Castle Rock; and even then it would be a strong and a large city compared with some which Cæsar describes as consisting of nothing else than a thick wood fortified with a ditch and rampart. Towns in these rude ages sprung up only in places peculiarly favoured by nature or art, and were generally under the protection of some neighbouring

¹ "Caledonia," vol. i. p. 167. Roy, in his "Mappa Romana," places Theodosia at Dumbarton, and though Richard of Cirencester obviously meant to do the same, yet by

following Ptolemy's curious error of making Britain extend from east to west, it appears on his map at the mouth of Lynchalidor (Loch-lomond) in place of the mouth of the Leven.

fortress. In the case of Theodosia, the city could not stretch itself much beyond the limits we have mentioned, and at the same time enjoy such protection, as there is good reason for believing that at this early period of our history, the Castle Rock was surrounded by water at the rise of every tide.¹ No remains of crannoges or lake-dwellings have been discovered in the locality.

Whether founded or only repaired by Theodosius, the history of the capital of Valentia continues as troubled as ever it was before being formally incorporated with the Roman Empire. About the close of the fourth century, Stilicho, whose name has been handed down in the verses of Claudian, is found defending the new province against the united attacks of Scots and Picts; and in 410 the Britons, within the walls, were so harassed by their foes from without, and the revolts of the Roman troops stationed among them, that they assumed, in self-defence, a kind of independence founded in the peculiarity of their position. At this time, too, the colossal empire of Rome was beginning to exhibit symptoms of internal decay, and pressed, in addition, on all sides by irresistible hordes, she gradually withdrew from boundaries which in her period of ambition she had fixed at too great a distance for her own peace and security. The northern provinces of Britain, the last added to the Roman Empire, were thus the first to suffer by the policy she was compelled to adopt, of withdrawing her troops from such distant territories. When it became known that the Roman army had abandoned Valentia, the Picts and Scots repeatedly broke through the northern Wall with impunity, and spread desolation over a province which had become to them what Italy was to the hordes of Alaric—a land to be plundered for its riches and to be possessed for its situation. The provincial Britons, anxious as they were to govern and defend

¹ When Harding visited this rock in 1434, the tide regularly flowed around it. In his Chronicle, fol. ccxxxi., he says—

“ That mai been hold out long, when ye begyn,
Save Dunbretain, the sea about doth ryn,
Each daie and nicht, twice withouten doubte,
Which maie bee woone, by famishying aboute.”

themselves, had from their intercourse with the settlers become too much Romanized to contend with success against their more northerly neighbours, whose profession was war, and whose life from the cradle upward, inured them to such a profession. As often as they were attacked they therefore appealed to Rome for help; and at least twice after Honorius had virtually abdicated the rights of sovereignty, the troops of the Empire were sent northward to protect the inhabitants of Valentia from foes whom Gildas describes as "hungry and ravening wolves, who rushed with greedy jaws upon the fold left without a shepherd." A third and memorable appeal commenced, "To Ætius, thrice Consul, the Groans of the Britons," and ended, "The sea drives us to the barbarians, and the barbarians drive us back to the sea: thus are we tossed between two kinds of death, being either drowned or put to the sword."¹ Notwithstanding this moving address, the suppliants obtained no relief, and the ambassadors returned to their countrymen with the doleful intelligence that the troops of Rome could not be spared for expeditions so dangerous and so distant. A year or two afterwards, or in A.D. 446, Ætius, urging the duty of self-government upon the native tribes, finally withdrew the Roman soldiers from a province which had been acquired but recently and possessed but partially.

Up to this time, the ancient inhabitants of Dumbartonshire may be said to have been divided into two distinct classes—those who lived within and those who lived beyond the Wall of Antoninus. The one, subdued by the arms and civilized by the arts of Rome, speedily began to exhibit such symptoms of improvement as is furnished by cultivating the soil and improving the means of intercourse between distant localities; while the other, proud of his wild independence, despised alike the industry and peace of his neighbour, and too often found pleasure in laying

¹ Gildas, Bede, and Geoffrey of Monmouth.

waste his territory. Of those within the Wall, who so rapidly assimilated their habits to those of the conquerors, we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the next chapter, when describing the kingdom of Strathclyde, founded on the departure of the Romans; but regarding the tribes northward of the barrier, a word or two may be necessary, as some of them soon disappear from the page of history. One peculiarly repulsive feature in their character—that of cannibalism—has already been alluded to, and though the authority on which this rests is open to doubt, it is certain that otherwise they were little removed in the scale of social life from the ordinary savages with which history has made us acquainted. In opposition to Cæsar, who says the ancient Britons were clothed in skins, Herodian (lib. iii.) describes them as entirely destitute of any covering. “Their sword (he says) hangs by their naked bodies; they know not the use of even a breastplate or helmet, and imagine these would be an impediment in passing through the fens. Besides puncturing their bodies with the forms of animals and other designs, they further decorate their person with iron ornaments, as a proof of riches, in the same manner as other barbarians do with gold.” Solinus (c. 25) says, “after battle, the victors stain their faces with the blood of their slaughtered enemies, and the first food a male child receives is given upon the point of its father’s sword, while the mother offers up her vows that he may meet death only in war or in arms.” Cæsar affirms that brass money and iron rings of a certain value were used, but Solinus continues: “the inhabitants of Britain have neither markets nor money, but give and receive in kind, choosing rather to obtain necessities by exchange than to procure riches.” From a passage in the fifth book of “Cæsar’s Commentaries,” it would appear that the domestic polity of the ancient Britons approached nearly to that known in modern times as a Pantisocracy, where a common family are supported from a common stock; but as the author penetrated only a short distance into

the island, and is uncorroborated on this point by other independent authorities, it is more than likely he was mistaken in ascribing to them the knowledge of a system propounded by a few imaginative writers in the nineteenth century. In other respects, too, classic writers have done injustice to the fame of the ancient Britons; for while they portray with much unction all the repulsive features of their character, they rarely or never allude to the great bravery and constant patriotism they displayed, or the sound knowledge they possessed of war as an art, and which is so evident from the remains of the ingeniously constructed hill forts still to be seen in some places. In addition also to the iron ornaments mentioned by Herodian, modern researches have brought to light bracelets, torques, and clasps, which are not only formed of the most precious metals, but evince, by their rich workmanship, that even prior to the Roman invasion the native races possessed considerable mechanical skill. These relics have principally been found in tumuli and caves, where, along with the arms used in the hunting-ground and the battle-field, they had been buried with their owner, in the firm belief that he would use them in the new state of being on which he had entered.

Regarding the form of government prevailing among the ancient tribes of North Britain, much difference of opinion has been expressed by inquirers. Dio, a historian of the age of Severus, vaguely intimates that it was democratic, but gives no explanation whether the general voice was taken in the election of a chief or on the different measures affecting the tribe. Cæsar, Tacitus, Herodian, and other classic writers, who fully describe the appearance of the country, and some of the customs of the ancient Britons, rarely allude, even indirectly, to their form of government, and it is therefore more than likely they were not much advanced beyond the first stages of society, so far as law and order were concerned. In times of great national peril, or when they had a

more than ordinary injury to avenge, the members of the different tribes might unite under a chief, and the chiefs under a leader of noted prowess; but the authority of these rulers appears to have passed away with the occasion that called it into existence, and the people soon relapsed into their customary pursuits of providing for the daily wants of a savage life, or waging an independent warfare against their powerful enemy. Of those national leaders the two most renowned are Galgacus, already mentioned as slain at the battle of the Grampians, and Græme or Graham, who is said to have so often broke through the Wall of Antoninus, that it acquired, in many places, the name of "Graham's Dyke." This chief, though the reputed founder of the great houses of Montrose and Dundee, is one of those mythical heroes so often met with in the early period of Scottish history, and much reliance cannot be placed on either his existence or exploits. At any rate, so far as the phrase "Græme's Dyke" is concerned, it is now almost certain that the phrase is a corruption of the Gaelic "grym"—strength—or "greim"—a place of strength, and "diog" a trench or rampart.¹

In the absence of positive information, it would be idle to speculate further upon the form of government under which our rude forefathers existed, especially as their lives are not likely to have been so much influenced by it, whatever was its shape, as by the religion prevailing among them. That this was Druidism is now admitted by the most distinguished inquirers. The learned, but sometimes over-confident Pinkerton, is, indeed, opposed to this opinion, and thinks the Druids never spread beyond a district

¹ The tradition that Graham overturned the Roman Wall, though resting on doubtful authority, appears to have formed part of the national belief as far back as the time of Malcolm Canmore. An inscription on a marble tablet found when the old church of

Falkirk was pulled down, runs as follows :—
 "FALKIRK MONAST. FVN : MALC III 1057.
 FUNERATVS HIC DEIN ROB GRAHAM ILLE
 EVERSVS VALL. SEVERVS AC. DI 15 FERGVSIVS
 II. R. SCO."—Nimmo's "Stirlingshire," p. 641.

farther north than Wales, or farther south than the Garonne, the boundary of the Celtic-Gauls. But as this theory does violence to the very explicit statements of classic writers on the one hand, and to the prevailing traditions of countries far north of Wales on the other, it has never obtained much credence. Cæsar says the received opinion in Gaul was that Druidism originated in Britain, and mentions, in addition, that in his time those who wished to become familiar with its mysteries commonly went to Britain for that purpose. Making all allowance, therefore, for the erroneous origin, which has doubtless been assigned to some monuments of antiquity, it is sufficiently clear that in ancient Dumbartonshire, at the period of which we are treating, Druidism was the prevailing religion among the native tribes.

Among the first, if not the very first, in the western parts of Britain, who laboured to supplant this savage superstition, was the famous St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland. Like every other matter connected with the career of one so renowned, but living in a period so far removed, his parentage and birth-place are subjects on which great difference of opinion have been expressed. The prevailing notion is, that he was born either at Old Kilpatrick, in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, or in Dumbarton itself. As a native of Dumbarton, one Irish writer claims for him a descent from the Scoto-Irish kings, but this is obviously an error, as the Scots did not possess Dumbarton till fully five hundred years after the time of St. Patrick.¹ Church historians, relying chiefly on what is known as the Saint's "Confession," make him a native of Armoric Gaul, where they find for him a father named Calphurnius, and a mother, niece of Martin, Archbishop of Tours. Buchanan, on the other

¹ The words of Dr O'Connor (the author referred to) are—"Alclud, Rupes Cluidensis, hodie Dumbarton, quæ fuit regia arx regum Hibernorum Albania;" and farther on,

"Natus est itaque S. Patricius inter Hibernos in præcipuo Hibernorum propugnaculo in Albania."—Prol. 1., xviii.

hand, writes of St. Patrick as a native of Scotland, and a pupil of Paladius, who was sent thither by the Roman Pontiff Celestine, to refute the errors of Pelagius the noted heresiarch, whose teachings had thus early begun to disturb the peace of the infant Church in Britain. The most recent theory as to the saint's birth-place limits it to the Strathclyde district, but removes the precise locality from either Dumbarton or Kilpatrick, where a favoured shrine was erected in his honour, to a point on the Avon near Hamilton, as more likely to be identical with the Bonaven and Tiburnia of the early chronicles.¹ Whether a native of Gaul or Britain, such writers as acknowledge his existence (for even this has been denied) are generally agreed that it was while residing near the coast of the former country he was carried off by a band of Irish and sold as a slave to one of their princes named Milicho or Malichi whose successor "wore the collar of gold which he won from the proud invader." The saint was afterwards liberated, and passed repeatedly between Strathclyde and Ireland. While engaged in those apostolic labours which has made his name so famous among early missionaries,² other apostles whose lives fall more appropriately to be noticed in the following chapter, soon appeared among the Britons in Dumbartonshire; and before the close of the fifth century, that gloomy superstition, which had so long brooded over the land, had in most places given way before the mild precepts of Christianity. So early as 314, three bishops, accompanied by a presbyter and a deacon, appeared at the council

¹ *Archæologica Scotica*, vol. v. part 1. An Inquiry into the Birthplace of St Patrick, by J. H. Turner, M.A. O'Brien, author of "The Round Towers of Ireland," identifies St. Patrick with Ulysses, and Penelope with St. Bridget!

² It may seem irreverent to refer to the legend here, but it was probably on setting

out on some of these expeditions that the powers of darkness evinced their hatred of the saint, by throwing after him a huge stone, from a neighbouring hill, which, falling short of the object of their vengeance, settled down in the channel of the Clyde, and became what in after years was known as Dumbarton Castle.

of Arles to represent the Britons; twenty years later they again assembled at Nice, and in 347 several bishops from Britain,¹ were present at the council of Arminium.

¹ Britair, Briton, and Britons, of frequent occurrence in this and the following chapter, are terms used in very varied senses by the older chroniclers. At one time "Brittania" might mean, to say nothing of Brittany, either the whole island of Britain or that part of it now called Wales. "Aquilonalis Britannia" might well enough denote either Scotland or North Wales—the north part of the island or the north part of the principality. So sound a scholar as Dr Joseph Robertson was of opinion that though Scotland might be spoken of as "the north part of Britain," it had never, so far as he could remember, been described as "North Britain." Thus, in Bede, there was "Septentrionalis Britanniae Fines," and "Septentrionalis Britanniae Plagas, in Adamnon, "Extrema Oceani, Britannia insula" [Iona]; in an anonymous life of St. Kentigern, in "Septentrionali Britanniae Plaga;" in Joceline of Furness, "De Aquilonaribus partibus Britanniae." On the other hand, wherever in those times "North Britain" or "North Britons" are spoken of, North Wales or the North Welsh are meant. Thus in Florence of Worcester we have "Septentrionalis Britannia" and "Septentrionalem Britanniam;" in William of Malmesbury, "North-wallos, *id est* Aquilonales Britones," "North-Wallensium, *id est* Brittonum Aquilonalium;" and Æthelweard, "Aquilonales Brittanos," and again in Florence of Worcester, "Septentrionalis Britonum," as the equivalents of "Nordth Wealas" or "North Welsh," and "Septentrionalem Britanniam" as the equi-

valent of "Nordthwalum" or "North Wales," of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. After the tenth century, when the country to the north of the Forth had come to be known as "Scotland," the name of "Britain" still lingered in a restricted or distinctive sense to denote the country to the south of the Forth, more especially the old principality of Strathclyde or Cumbria, the region now divided into the shires of Dumbarton, Renfrew, Ayr, Lanark, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, Dumfries, and Cumberland. Thus, Tighernach, in chronicling the death of Malcolm, the son of Donald, King of Cumbria, in A.D. 997, calls him "Righ Bretan tuaisc," "Rex Britonum Boreaium." Thus, too, the Bishop of Glasgow was the "Episcopus Britonum," as distinguished from the "Episcopus Scotorum," the Bishop of St Andrews. So also Stirling was described as in Scotland on the marches of Britain—"In Scotia ad fines Britanniae," and the Forth at Stirling (itself called the Scots Water) was said to divide Scotland from Britain—"Inter Britanniam et Scotiam utrinque marginem apprehendens;" "Scotiam et Britanniam intermedians sive connectens." In the same way Lothian is spoken of as in "Brittannia Septentrionali" in a life of St. Kentigern, written between A.D. 1147 and A.D. 1164, and as "Septentrionalis Britaniae pars" in the Breviary of Aberdeen, printed in A.D. 1510, and believed to have been compiled a few years before, but no doubt repeating the language of a much earlier age.—Stat. Eccles. Note 1, p. 17.

CHAPTER II.

STRATHCLYDE DUMBARTONSHIRE, A.D. 450 TO A.D. 975.

OBSCURE PERIOD OF HISTORY—EXTENT OF THE STRATHCLYDE KINGDOM—DR. JAMIESON'S THEORY AS TO TERMINATION OF ROMAN WALL—DUMBARTON THE ALCLUID OF THE BRITONS—EARLY RULERS OF STRATHCLYDE—CAUNUS—HOEL—ARTHUR AND MERLIN—RYDERICH AND KENTIGERN—DUNWALLON—BRITONS SUBDUED BY SCOTS—PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY—LAWS AND LEARNING DURING THE PERIOD.



WITH Dumbarton as the capital of an ancient kingdom, an era opens in its history at once dark and perplexing. The records regarding it are few in number, while the occurrences have been so distorted by romancers, that it is difficult in many cases to say where truth ends and fiction begins. It is emphatically an age of fable intervening between two ages of truth. Severus and Theodosius were real persons, and left many traces of their presence among us. Some tokens we also possess of Wallace and Bruce. But Arthur and Mordred, Ryderich and Hoel, if not altogether mythical, owe much of their renown to the flattery of contemporary minstrels, or the credulity of monkish chroniclers who succeeded them. The ancient city of Alcluith, however, being the capital of the kingdom over which these princes are said to have ruled, no Book of Dumbartonshire can avoid noticing some of their marvellous exploits even though they be of a nature calculated rather to amuse or astonish than instruct the reader.

About the period when Rome commenced to withdraw her troops from Britain, the Romanized descendants of the tribe occupying Valentia, so far followed the advice of Honorius as to associate themselves together for their common protection from the enemies by whom they were harassed. Leaving a portion of the east side of the province in possession of the Picts, they formed the rest into a

kingdom which came to be described sometimes as the *Regnum Cambrense* or *Cumbreme*, but more frequently as the kingdom of *Strathclyde*. The bounds of this kingdom appear to have extended from the Solway on the south, to the upper Forth and Lochlomond on the north, while from the Irish Sea and the Frith of Clyde, it ranged eastward to the district of Merse and Lothians. It thus included districts afterwards known as Liddesdale, Teviotdale, Dumfriesshire, all Galloway, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire; *Strathclyde* proper, the west part of Stirlingshire, and nearly the whole of modern Dumbartonshire. Pinkerton, apparently over-anxious to point out the distinction between the *Regnum Cambrense* and the *Regnum Cumbrense* farther south, gives it as his opinion that the kingdom of *Strathclyde* did not include more than the counties of Dumbarton, Renfrew, and Lanark, and even these would be equal in size to some of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and larger than most of the Welsh principalities. But in the "*Inquisitio Davidis*," which throws a little light on this obscure era, *Cambria* is said to lie "*inter Angliam et Scotiam*," and as England was then confined on the north by the Solway, the Esk, and the Kershope, and Scotland by the Frith of Forth, the inference is that *Cambria* or *Strathclyde* extended over the district before described, with possibly, in addition, a small portion of Cumberland. Jocelin, a monk of Furness, who wrote a life of Kentigern or St. Mungo about 1180, further corroborates this opinion by making the new kingdom almost exactly correspond in extent with the Roman province of *Valentia*. The metropolis of *Strathclyde* remained where it had been fixed by Theodosius, but it now generally appears under the native name of *Alclud* or *Alcluith*, "The rocky height on the Clyde."¹ Not content with the boundaries

¹ Bede's words are—"Civitas Britonum munitissima usque hodie quæ vocatur Alcluith;" and in another place, "Alcluith, quod lingua eorum significat Petram Cluith ;

est enim juxta fluvium nominis illius." In the edition of Slezer's "*Theatrum Scotiæ*," published at Edinburgh in 1814, the editor, Dr. John Jamieson, offers a variety of con-

nature and art had already placed between them and their enemies, the Britons of Strathclyde so far followed the policy of their early protectors as to make a catrail or dividing fence, consisting of a fosse and double rampart, which extended through the counties of Selkirk and Roxburgh. They thus endeavoured to protect themselves from the inroads of the Picts on the east side; and though no notice is

jectures in support of the theory, that the Alclud of the Britons was identical, not with Dumbarton, but with the little rock of Dunglass, about two miles higher up the Clyde. His reasoning on this point is not only opposed to all local tradition, but seems quite out of harmony with the spirit of the writings he appeals to for support. Had the theory been propounded by any one less eminent than Dr. Jamieson, it would have been sufficient for our purpose simply to have referred to it as one of those odd crotchets which can only find a lurking-place in the mind of a thorough-going antiquary, but to which nobody, not even the originator, attaches the slightest weight. With the author of the "Scottish Dictionary" the case is otherwise. Great deference is in general, and very justly, paid to his opinion; on the point in dispute his illustrations are unusually lengthy; and it is therefore thought that a brief examination of them will not only place the claim of Dumbarton to the honour in question in a clearer light than ever, but afford a curious and not quite useless proof of the progress of that learning which is spoken of as darkening knowledge. "Bede (he says, p. 12) expressly asserts that the Roman Wall terminated *juxta verbum* Alcluith 'near the city of Alclud;' and as the kirk of Old Kilpatrick is distant five miles from Dumbarton, it can scarcely be supposed that Bede would say the Wall terminated near Alclud, if the

Rock of Dumbarton was the site. It cannot reasonably be thought that he used the term *juxta* so loosely as to include a distance of several miles, especially in that very sentence in which he seems so anxious in regard to accuracy as to say, that the Wall had its commencement '*duorum ferme milium spatio*,' nearly two miles from the monastery of Abercurnig. We are bound, indeed, to judge of his meaning from the use of this term in the same chapter, in which he says, that the Rock of Cluith is '*juxta fluvium nominis illius*,' near the river of the same name. Can it be imagined (asks the editor) that in the one instance *juxta* denotes such proximity that the rock is washed by the river, and in the other, a distance not *duorum ferme milium*, but nearly double?" As Bede has been already quoted in support of the opinion that the Roman Wall terminated neither at Kilpatrick nor Dunglass, but where the venerable historian says it actually did end—near by Alclud—it is not necessary to affirm that he was mistaken, either as to the site of Alclud, or the exact point of the vallum termini. He appears to have been accurately acquainted with both. Still, in opposition to Dr. Jamieson's theory, there is abundant room for believing that an ecclesiastical historian may have been well informed as to the exact site of a monastery, and in error by a mile or two as to the termination of a work which was in ruins even in his day, and which there is no reason for believing

taken of their either repairing or defending the Wall of Antoninus on the north, it is not likely they would allow a barrier of such importance to fall into utter decay, when they had such hostile tribes to contend with as the Caledonii and the Mætae, and a colony of warlike Scoto-Irish so near as Argyllshire.¹

he ever saw. The Wall of Antoninus was a subject of but inferior interest to the Monk of Jarrow; indeed, it is not improbable that the only information he possessed regarding it was derived from some of the brethren belonging to the monastery at Abercorn. At any rate, the discrepancy, even if it was real, is a slender basis for the structure erected by Dr Jamieson. Next, he says, that tradition, which is generally entitled to regard as to local situation, instead of fixing the site of Alclud at Dumbarton, places it much higher up the river. The only authority quoted in support of this statement is Maitland, who, in his "History of Scotland," p. 188, fixes the site of Alcluith "about a furlong bewest the town of Old Kilpatrick." This is answered by the learned editor himself, who, in a following paragraph, quietly ignores the statement, and proceeds to show that Dunglass (not *one* furlong but *ten* west of Kilpatrick) might, with "abundant propriety," be denominated Petra Cloith—the rocky height on the margin of the flood. Maitland is admitted as good evidence for proving that Dumbarton was not Alclud, but his testimony is not worth considering, when he fixes the site of this ancient city at a point nearly as far east from Dunglass as Dunglass is east from Dumbarton. Bede in another place is dealt with in a similar manner. His phrase, "*lingua eorum*," is admitted to refer to the term "*Brittonum*" preceding; but instead of attaching any authority to it in the course of his argument, Dr. Jamieson says, "it cannot be supposed that this remarkable

writer was so conservant in the various dialects of the Celtic, as certainly to know whether a term was originally British or Gaelic." In other words, where there occurs in Bede a discrepancy, where a discrepancy would not only be pardonable, but escape from it almost impossible, it is made to further a theory which has not even ingenuity to recommend it; and on the other hand, when a phrase is used in a sense sufficient to set at rest the question in dispute, Bede is not even to be allowed to be his own interpreter. Then, Gordon, who says in his "Itinerary" that the Wall ended at Alclud, near which stands the church of West Kilpatrick, cannot mean that Alclud was near Dumbarton; while Gordon and Maitland, differing as they do from each other, are preferable to Dr. Irvine, who carefully examined the route of the Wall, but had the misfortune to differ from Maitland about the remains of a Roman fort. In fine, the Rock of Dumbarton, whether considered as the termination of the actual Wall, or simply connected with it by a series of forts, corresponds exactly with every detail of the ancient Alclud, and yet it is not to be identified with it because some locality, from two to three miles westward, is thought to correspond with it in one or two particulars.

¹ The reader who desires further information regarding the origin of this kingdom, will find many interesting facts mentioned in Innes's "Inquiry," Pinkerton's "Inquiry," vol. i., c. 5, and Ritson's "Annals," vol. ii., Strathclyde section.

The first chief among the Britons of Strathclyde of whom history takes any notice, is one Caunus or Caw, who had the misfortune to excite the ire of the Picts, and was by them driven from his kingdom about the end of the fifth century. He found an asylum in North Wales, between which country and Strathclyde there at this time existed relations of the closest description. In ancient documents, the natives of Strathclyde are described as Welsh Britons, and, on some occasions, both countries appear to have been under the rule of one sovereign. Caunus, above referred to, is said to have been the father of Gildas, an historian, to whom we are indebted for some information concerning the Britons of Strathclyde. Mabillion, in his life of Gildas, says there is a manuscript in the library of Fleury Abbey which mentions that he was born at Alclud, and that his father was Caunus, a king of that country, who was succeeded by his son Hoel. But about this writer, or about any other character who flourished in this obscure era, much difference of opinion exists. One eminent modern scholar prefaces the Epistle of Gildas with the remark, that nothing is known of the author—not even his age or country, while another very circumstantially describes him as “the most ancient British author, who flourished in the year of our Lord, 546, and who, by his great erudition, sanctitie, and wisdom, acquired the name of Sapiens, or the Wise.”

Of Hoel, the reputed brother of Gildas, and successor of Caunus, nothing is known beyond the fact that he began to exercise his power about the same time that the renowned Prince Arthur (the Aurelius Ambrosius of the Welsh) was elected Pendragon by a number of disaffected chiefs. Being unfortunate enough to excite the hostility of that powerful leader, Hoel followed the example of his father, and fled from Alclud to Anglesey, where, about A.D. 508, he suffered a violent death amid the regret of many who had followed him thither. Having thus established his power in Strathclyde,

Arthur, who appears to have reigned over the Britons in both the north and south of the island, fixed one of his seats of authority at Alclud.¹ In the Welsh Triads, as quoted by Owen in his Dictionary, it is said, "Arthur ynbeneteyrnedd yn Phenryn Rhionydd yn y gogledd,"—Arthur a supreme of princes at the promontory of Rhionyth, in the north. Other Welsh writers describe the residence of Arthur in Strathclyde as Penryn-Ryoneth; and as the British Penryn supposes a promontory with some circumstance increasing its height, Chalmers thinks this intimation clearly points to Alclud as one of the seats of Arthur's authority. The point of Cardross may therefore have been the "Rhyn-Ryoneth," and the Castle of Dumbarton the Pen-Rhyn-Ryoneth of the ancient British Triads.

The Picts and Scots still continued to harass the Britons of Strathclyde; Arthur, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, having killed "four hundred and seventy Saxons with his own hand in one battle," directed his march northward to Alclud, where his nephew Hoel lay sick at the time. After three several engagements, the enemy retired to Lochlomond, and took refuge on the islands with which it is so thickly studded. As some of the occurrences detailed by Geoffrey may amuse if they do not instruct, the subsequent narrative is given in the monk's own words:—"This lake (Lochlomond) contains sixty islands, and receives sixty rivers into it, which empty themselves into the sea in no more than one mouth. There is also an equal number of rocks in these islands, as also of eagles' nests in these rocks, which flock together there every year, and by the loud and general noise which they now made, foreboded some remarkable event that should happen to the kingdom. To these islands, there-

¹ The author of the "Caledonia" finds additional evidence for the presence of Arthur in Dumbarton in the circumstance that in a parliamentary record of the reign of David II. mention is made of Dumbarton

Castle as "Castri . . . arthuri." From the document, as printed in the best edition of the "Scots Acts," it can only be inferred that at that time the Castle was in the keeping of some one named Arthur.

fore, had the enemy fled, thinking that the lake would serve them instead of a fortification ; but it proved of little advantage to them. For Arthur, having got together a fleet, sailed round the rivers and besieged the enemy fifteen days together, by which they were so straitened with hunger that they died by thousands. While he was harassing them in this manner, Guillamurius, king of Ireland, came up in a fleet with a very great army of barbarians, in order to relieve the besieged. This obliged Arthur to raise the siege, and turn his arms against the Irish, whom he slew without mercy, and compelled the rest to return back to their country. After this victory, he proceeded in his first attempt, which was to extirpate the whole race of the Scots and Picts, and treated them with unparalleled severity. And as he allowed quarter to none, the bishops of that miserable country, with all the inferior clergy, met together, and bearing the reliques of the saints and other consecrated things of the Church before them, came, barefooted, to implore the king's mercy for their people. As soon as they were admitted into his presence, they fell down upon their knees, and humbly besought him to have pity on their distressed country, since the sufferings he had already made it undergo were sufficient, nor was there any necessity to cut off the small remainder to a man ; and that he would allow them the enjoyment of a small part of the country, since they were willing to bear the yoke which he should impose upon them. The king was moved at their manner of delivering their petition, and could not forbear expressing his clemency to them with tears ; and at the request of these holy men granted them pardon. This affair being concluded, Hoel had the curiosity to view the situation of the lake, and wondered to find the number of the rivers, islands, rocks, and eagles' nests so exactly correspond ; and, while he was reflecting upon it as something that appeared miraculous, Arthur came to him and told him of another pond in the same province, which was yet more wonderful. For not far from thence was one whose length and breadth were each twenty

feet, and depth five feet. But whether its square figure was natural or artificial, the wonder of it was, there were four different sorts of fishes in the four several corners of it, none of which were ever found in any other part of the pond but their own."¹ After a career of unparalleled valour (if the chronicles can be believed), and in which both giants and magicians were encountered, Arthur at length perished ingloriously in civil feud with his nephew Medrawd, who is said to have usurped the place of the prince in the affections of his wife Gwenhyfar or Guinevere. Arthur is supposed to have been buried in Glastonbury Abbey, where, as recorded by Gireldus Cambrensis, his coffin was discovered in 1189, bearing the inscription, "Hic jacet sepultus Rex Arthuris in insula Avallania."²

The successor of Arthur in Strathclyde was Morken, the Meir-chjawn of the early chronicles, and whom the monk Jocelyn has handed down to us in no very flattering terms as the enemy of Kentigern, the founder of the diocese of Glasgow. He is said to have died in early life, as an appropriate punishment for raising his sacrilegious foot against that holy man. On an occasion of great dearth in the land when the saint came to Morken begging food, the monarch tauntingly replied, "Let the God in whom you trust carry the corn which is in my garner to your house, and I will freely give it you." Kentigern, shocked as may be believed at the profanity of the king, prayed—not for his conversion, as the story goes—but for a convincing act of Almighty power; and in answer thereto, the Clyde instantly rose to such a height as swept the king's barns to the ground and carried the grain to the residence of the saint on the banks of the silvery Molindinar.³

Ryderich Hoel, or the Bountiful, is the next ruler of whom any account is given. He appears to have succeeded to the crown, not

¹ Geoffrey of Monmouth, b. ix., c. 6 and
7. See also Glennie's "Arthurian Localities."

² Turner's "Anglo-Saxons," vol. i.

³ Ritson's "Annals of Strathclyde," A.D.

because he was in any way related to its former possessor, but because he was the most celebrated among the chiefs who contested for that superiority. One of his first acts was to recall Kentigern from Wales to his former seat of usefulness, and he continued during his long reign of forty years to aid in many other ways the progress of Christianity among his subjects. With Columba, who at this time was scattering the seeds of Gospel truth in the Western Isles, Ryderich also appears to have been on intimate terms, and some have even affirmed that Dumbarton owes its first religious establishment, not to St. Kentigern, but to the apostle who founded the monastery of Iona. In Adamnan's life of Columba, one chapter runs thus:—"The prophecy of the holy man concerning Roderick the son of Total, who reigned at Petracloithe" (the Rock of Clyde). The king is said to have sent one Lugbeus Mocumin to inquire of the saint whether he would be slain by his enemies or not; the saint replied that Roderick would never be delivered into the hands of his enemies, but would die in his own house upon his own pillow. The prediction in this case appears to have corresponded with the event, for we learn from Jocelyn that Ryderich died the same year with Kentigern, 601, "in villa regia que Pertmet (Partick), nuncupator." The enemies Ryderich had to fear were strong and numerous, for besides having to curb the pretensions of chiefs within his territory, nearly as powerful as himself, he had to protect both them and others from the inroads of Picts and Scots, and the still more dreaded Saxons who now began to infest the shores of Britain. In 577, Ryderich encountered Aidan of Cantyre at Ardryth (supposed to be Airdrie), and defeated him with great slaughter. Aidan is described by Merlin of Caledonia as Fradwig, the Perfidious; but this is possibly because he did not sufficiently aid Merlin's patron Gwenddolau, who, according to the fashion of the time, had called in the Scoto-Irish king as an auxiliary against the sovereign of Strathclyde. This, it is thought, is the engagement which Merlin

himself had some hand in bringing about, and on account of which he performed a severe penance during the remainder of his life. It appears certain, at least, that he was present on the occasion, and enjoyed the high honour of wearing the golden torques. This personage was a native of Alclud, and roamed over Strathclyde like a second Nebuchadnezzar, living only in caves, and clothed in such raiment as was furnished by the shaggy skins of wild animals. In the "*Scotichronicon*" is an account of an interview between Merlin (while living in this manner) and his countryman St Kentigern. On being commanded by the saint to give an account of himself, Merlin answered that the penance he performed was imposed on him by a voice from heaven during a bloody conflict of which he had been the cause.¹

On the death of Ryderich another intestine war followed before a successor could be appointed; and when at length Owen was raised to the dangerous pre-eminence there seems to have commenced another series of contests between the Britons and their neighbours the Irish in Dalriada.² According to the "*Annals of Ulster*," the battle of Cathloen was fought between the two nations in 631, and another at Indris the following year. It fell to the lot of Owen to execute the doom of the Irish prophets on Donald-Breac, the freckled, and his son Cathusaidah, who had invaded the sacred isle of their fathers in support of the murderer of its lawful sovereign.

¹ "*Scotichronicon*," lib. iii., cap. 31. In his introduction to "*Thomas the Rhymer*," Sir Walter Scott draws a distinction between Ambrose Merlin and Merlin the Wild; but without denying the entity of either one or other of these worthies, we think it clear from Fordun and Geoffrey of Monmouth, that it was Merlin the Wild who was a native of Alclud, and encountered by Kentigern in the manner described. In the

prophecies which pass under the name of "*Marvellous Merlin*" frequent allusion is made to Dumbarton.

² The "*Annals of Strathclyde*" indicate that Ryderich's son Constantine succeeded, and excelled in power and virtue all who had reigned before. Like his father (it is continued) he was subject to the bishop. The statement needs corroboration.

Donald was slain by Owen at Straith Cormaic in 642, and his son a few years afterwards.

Of the remaining kings of Strathclyde few are alluded to at length by either poet or chronicler, and even the order of succession in some cases is not very satisfactorily established. According to the "*Annals of Ulster*," a king named Guiret is said to have died at Alclud in 657, and was succeeded by Domnal, the son of Owen, who appears to have reigned above thirty years. In 681 he gave battle to several Irish tribes who invaded Ayrshire, and forced them to retire with great loss, Cæthaso, the son of the chief ruler of Ulster, being among the slain. In the reign of the next king, Bile M'Elphin, two great battles were fought between the Britons and the Scoto-Irish settled in Argyllshire—one in 710 at Lough-coleth, and another ten years afterwards at the rock of Mionure—the Britons being defeated in both instances. After Domnal, Langhorn includes in his catalogue of Cumbrian kings—Constantine, whose son was slain by the Scottish Grig; Herbert the brother of Constantine, and Eugene, who was contemporary with the Saxon Athelstane.

During the reign of these princes the Britons of Strathclyde seem to have enjoyed only such periods of repose as served to furnish them with the means of once more taking the field against their assailants; and as they had no method of readily recruiting the losses sustained on these occasions, it soon became apparent that this remarkable people, who for three hundred years had maintained an independent existence in the midst of active enemies, were to succumb before the repeated efforts made by these enemies to drive them out of their territory. Yet in this unequal warfare they neither submitted with tameness nor attacked with despair. Their intense nationality gave a unity to their action against which numbers nor skill could sometimes avail, and on many a field of conflict they left indubitable tokens that they were not unworthy descendants of

those who had fought with Arthur and Ryderich. In 744 they sustained an attack made by their old enemies, the Picts, and five years afterwards they again met on the field of Catho, where the Britons slew Talorgan, the brother of the Pictish king.¹ In 756, the Saxons under Eadbert, and the Picts under Ungus attacked the Britons with great determination, and succeeded in penetrating to Alclud, which they partially destroyed.² But for this and many other excesses the Britons were afterwards amply revenged, as they not only marched victorious to the very centre of their enemy's kingdom, but lent on other occasions no small assistance to the Scottish kings in preparing the way for the utter extinction of the Pictish monarchy, which was effected by Kenneth II. in 843. About this time the relations subsisting between the Britons of Strathclyde and the Scots of Dalriada (Argyllshire) appear to have been of the most friendly nature. From the marriage of a Strathclyde king named Ku or Caw, with the daughter of Kenneth, sprung Eocha, who for a time swayed the Scottish sceptre with the famous usurper Grig, or Gregory the Great. Like some other alliances in these rude times this one had a sudden and violent termination. The elevation of Caw excited the envy of a Strathclyde prince named Artga, who ultimately procured the death of his sovereign, and occupied the vacant throne himself. This led to a renewal of hostilities between the Scots and Britons, for Constantine II., resolving to protect to the utmost the rights of his sister and nephew, declared war against the usurper, and succeeded so far as to have the kingdom of Strathclyde at his disposal in the year 871.

Alclud itself having been in a great measure destroyed two years previously.

It was during the disturbances that arose out of Artga's usurpation that the Britons were called upon to protect themselves from

¹ *Howden*, p. 404; and "*Annals of Ulster*."

² "*Sources of Dunelm*," p. 106.

the most terrible enemies who had yet harassed them. These were the Vikings, or Danish Sea Kings, who, having effected a settlement on the shores of Ireland, soon found their way across the channel, and laid waste the fertile valley watered by the Clyde. In 870, the Danes under Ivar, and Olave—a descendant of the renowned Ragner Lodbrog, made the earliest regular siege of the Castle of Dumbarton of which history takes any notice. The blockade, which appears to have commenced in the early part of the year, was continued for four months without interruption, and even then, the defenders of the fortress only submitted to the enemy when hunger and pestilence and repeated attacks had so far reduced their numbers as to make a longer defence impossible.¹ Having plundered Alclud of all that was valuable, the Danes spread themselves over the surrounding country, and after subjecting it to a twelvemonth's oppression, took their departure for Ireland, where they disposed of their rich booty. Four years later these scourges returned under the leadership of Halfden; and again in 875, when they secured everything in and around Alclud that had been spared in former ravages, and destroyed what they could not carry off.² The Britons of Strathclyde were thus in the worst of all possible conditions. Pillaged by Danes, dictated to by Scots, and harassed by internal dissensions, the measure of their misfortunes was completed by assenting, along with others, to the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon monarch. In the "Saxon Chronicle" we read of a service rendered to Edward the Elder, which another Edward waged a long and cruel war to maintain. In 924 "there chose Edward for father and for lord, the king of the Scots, and the whole nation of the Scots," and also "the king of the Strathclyde Britons and all the Strathclyde Britons." Fifty years later, a similar act of homage appears to have

¹ "Annals of Ulster;" Ware's "Irish Antiquities," p. 108.

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² "Saxon Chronicle;" Usher's "Primordia," p. 719.

been paid to Edgar the Etheling ; on bringing his forces to Chester, it is said " there came to meet him six kings, who all plighted their troth that they would be his fellow-workers by sea and by land."¹ Amid these varied disasters it is not wonderful that about the close of the ninth century many of the Britons of Strathclyde, loving independence but unable to maintain it in the midst of enemies so numerous and powerful, resolved to proceed to Wales, where they would at least mingle with a kindred people, and live under rulers whose ancestors had been celebrated by Lewarch and Taliessin. The emigrants departed in 890 ; but misfortune still followed in their track. On reaching Lochmaben, in Dumfriesshire, they were surrounded by enemies, and their leader, Constantine, slain. They were successful in this instance, however, in repulsing their assailants, and forced their way into Wales, where they were well received by Anarawd, the king. Being himself engaged in hostilities with the Saxons, he assigned the pilgrims a frontier district, which they were to acquire by their sword and improve by their policy. Tradition affirms that these conditions were fully complied with. After assisting the Welsh to defeat the Saxons in the battle of Cymrid, the emigrants settled down in the disputed territory, and became the founders of a people who can still be distinguished from the other inhabitants of North Wales.²

From the period of this migration the history of the kingdom of Strathclyde becomes even more obscure than before, and also more uninteresting. Hemmed in on every side by foes as unscrupulous as they were powerful, this emigration, while it made the people of

¹ "Saxon Chronicle ;" William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon. A modern English historian, Sir Francis Palgrave, has founded on the above and similar submissions a defence to the claim of superiority set up by Edward I. over Scotland.

It is replied on the other side that the submission was made by the northern kings only for the possessions they held in England.

² "Welsh Archiaol," vol. ii. p. 482 ; Lhuyd's Com., ed. William, p. 41.

Strathclyde more unfit than formerly to contend with success against these foes, also indicated that the time was approaching when they, who had for five hundred years not unskillfully developed the seeds of civilization planted by Rome, were themselves to become subordinate to a power which had already acquired such dimensions as foreshadowed the greatness it afterwards attained. The events which preceded the extinction of the kingdom of Strathclyde are thus succinctly narrated by Chalmers:—About the year 920, they lost their king Dovenal. Constantine III. (who ruled over the Scots) had influence enough to obtain the election of his brother Donal, the son of Adodh. This prudent choice appears to have secured peace between the two nations till the year 965, when the thirty years' harmony was disturbed by the misconduct of Culen, who then occupied the Scottish throne. An unnatural outrage which he committed upon his own relation, the grand-daughter of Donal, seems to have revived the native spirit of the Britons, and they flew to arms under Andarch their king. They encountered the Scots in Lothian, where, in a sharp conflict which ensued, Culen and his brother Eocha were both slain. Andarch did not long survive this the last great victory of the Britons, for two years afterwards we find seated on the throne Dunwallon, who was destined to close the line of the Strathclyde reguli. Kenneth III. seized the sceptre of Culen, and with the intention of carrying out his own ambitious schemes rather than revenging the merited fate of his predecessor, carried on with energy the war which Culen had commenced. Success attended his efforts. The enfeebled Britons of Strathclyde made a gallant struggle for independence; but the superior power of the Scots generally prevailed, and at length their victory on the field of Varconar made them masters of the whole territory of Strathclyde, which was at once annexed to the dominion of the Scottish kings.¹

¹ "Caledonia," vol. i. pp. 355 and 393.

Upon this defeat Dunwallon retired to Rome, where he exchanged the sceptre of the monarch for the cowl of the monk, and the strong towers of Alclud for the cell of penitence and prayer.

Regarding the early history of the race by whom the Britons were subdued, a word or two is necessary here to prevent that confusion in the historic narrative which might follow from the subversion of one kingdom and the rise of another. That the Scots were emigrants from Ireland, and not natives of Britain, is a fact now as clearly ascertained as any in history; and the only undecided portion of the question which zealous antiquaries contested so long relates not so much to their origin as to the period of their first appearance in the sister isle, and the subsequent dispersion of some of them over the west parts of Scotland. Certain Scottish historians, who admit that the immediate progenitors of the race that subdued the Picts and Britons came from Ireland, contend strenuously for the "native origin" of the Scots by alleging that in the very early period of their history they were settled in Scotland, and went from thence to Ireland. But, without entering upon this very obscure portion of history, it is sufficient for our purpose that the "Annals of Ulster" and of Tigernach clearly show that about the commencement of the fifth century, a colony of Scots were conducted from Ireland to the territory of the Epidii, on the promontory of Cantyre, by Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, the three sons of Erc, king of Dalriada. Having effected an easy settlement there, they soon began to extend their territory along the whole coast of Argyllshire, which is sometimes described a Dalriada, from the territory in Ireland seized by Carbre Riada, and governed by his descendant Erc. Bede and others also allude to the emigrants under the name of the Dalriadini; but following the practice of most modern inquirers, it has been thought better to designate them as Scoto-Irish—a name suggestive both of their origin and colonization. Notwithstanding much disunion among themselves they succeeded, sooner or later, in subduing almost every

power with which they came into contact. About the middle of the seventh century, and during the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin, they overcame the powerful nation of the Picts, which merged so completely into the predominating race as to give rise to the supposition that the two were not only descended from the same Celtic stock, but spoke cognate tongues and practised the same customs. Having already noticed in detail the wars which took place between the emigrants from Ireland and the Britons of Strathclyde, it is not necessary to enlarge upon their disputes here, further than to state that from a beginning so small arose a kingdom which extended from the remote Hebrides on the north to the territories of the Anglo-Saxon kings on the south; and from an origin so obscure sprung a people renowned for every virtue which can elevate and adorn humanity.

Though no longer governed by their own native princes, the Britons of Strathclyde, unlike the Picts of the east coast, continued for many centuries to inhabit the territory they originally possessed. Their line of kings was changed, but their language and customs appear to have remained the same. In the charter "*De decimis solvendis*," granted in the twelfth century by Malcolm IV., mention is made of the Normans, English, Scots, Welsh, and Galloway men, who are all enjoined to pay their tithes, and such other ecclesiastical dues as the law of God enjoins to be paid.¹ The Welsh mentioned in this document, and who, with others, are again alluded to by the successor of Malcolm, William the Lion, were the Britons of Strathclyde, living within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the successors of St. Kentigern. But though both laws and language seem to have been maintained for centuries in an uncorrupted state, the history of the Britons, generally, is now so interwoven with that of the Scots, that it is only by events occurring among the latter any light is thrown upon the condition of ancient Dumbartonshire.

¹ "*Chartulary of Glasgow*," p. 203.

From the commencement to the extinction of the Strathclyde kingdom, the progress of Christianity among the people seems to have been marked and decisive. It began to shed its genial influence on their lives almost as soon as they formed themselves into an independent sovereignty; and, during five centuries, kings and subjects alike appear to have contributed by their conduct to advance that cause from which sprung so many reforms in all that related to their domestic condition, and their intercourse with other nations. A knowledge of the truth—dim it might be, but still powerful—seems to have prevented the early Strathclyde reguli from making their accession to a throne an excuse for sacrificing all who had opposed them; and when their long line was closed, Dunwallon bore testimony by his example that the religion he professed afforded consolation for the loss of the highest earthly honours.¹

Almost contemporary with St. Patrick, alluded to in the last chapter, was Ninian, or Ninias, who laboured among the Britons of Strathclyde during the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century. Bede describes this preacher as a reverend bishop, and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth, and whose episcopal see, named after St. Martin the bishop, and famous for a stately church, wherein Ninias and many other saints rest in the body continued to exist till this day.² The place (continues Bede) belongs to the province of the Bernicians, and is generally called the White House, because Ninian built there a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons. The White House of Bede was the Candida Casa of the Romans, and the Whithorn

¹ In his notes to Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba," Dr. Reeves expresses an opinion that the early date fixed for a Christian settlement at Alclud has arisen from an erroneous

reading of the "Annals of Ulster, A.D. 554." The place really meant he takes to be Achadh-cinn in Ulster.

² Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," b. iii. c. 4.

in Galloway of modern times. The learned Usher supposes that the diocese of St. Ninian extended from Glasgow to Stanmore Cross, on the borders of Westmoreland; but Bishop Nicholson and others, after careful inquiry, arrive at the opinion that at this early period the bishops of Scotland had no fixed see, and exercised their episcopal office in whatever part of the kingdom they might for the time be residing. Usher further intimates that Ninian divided the whole land into certain parishes, but this must also be taken with some reservation, as the term "parochia" signified in early times a much larger district than a modern parish. As in the case of St. Patrick and other early Christian missionaries, the fame of Ninian is preserved to this day by many churches and parishes which bear his name throughout the north and west of Scotland.

More closely connected with Dumbartonshire than even Ninian and his disciples was Kentigern, the deserving pupil of Servan, who appeared among the Britons of Strathclyde in the sixth century. It is said he was an illegitimate son of Eugene III., king of the Scots, by Thamit, a daughter of Loth, king of the Picts. Being secretly conveyed from his birth-place in Culross, to a hermitage not far distant, he was there educated and prepared for carrying on that work of evangelization which had been so successfully commenced by Ninian. Under the protection of Morken, Kentigern fixed his residence at Alclud, and laboured with great diligence among the Britons in the neighbourhood; but the jealous king, thinking that the power of Kentigern clashed with his own, attempted to put an end to his career of usefulness by imprisoning him. This fate the saint escaped by taking refuge in Wales, where he remained till Morken's successor, Ryderich the Bountiful, recalled him to his former seat of usefulness. He then recommenced his scheme of consolidating the ecclesiastical power of Strathclyde. In accomplishing this, so far was he from exciting either the fear or jealousy

of the new ruler, that he became everywhere known under the endearing name of St. Mungo, or "the beloved." As the founder of the diocese of Glasgow, and the patron saint of the city, the life of St. Kentigern is interwoven with the oldest traditions of the Western metropolis. His last expressed wish, "Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the Word," is still the motto on the city arms, and up to the period of the Reformation, when it became a sin even to look on the vestments of the old faith, the head of St. Mungo, surmounted with a mitre, appeared on the dexter side of the shield. Under St. Kentigern, Glasgow, became the ecclesiastical capital of the kingdom, the spiritual mother "of Reged wide and fair Strathclyde." It was there, says Dr J. Robertson, the Saint made his own sepulture, and there for ages the kings and warriors, the saints and sages of Cumbria, were interred beside the ashes of the renowned apostle of their nation. Here the cross was planted, and here was ground blessed for Christian burial by a Christian bishop, while Iona was yet an unknown island among the western waves, while the promontory of St. Andrews was the haunt of the wild boar and the sea-mew, and only the smoke of a few heathen wigwams ascended from the rock of Edinburgh. The ground which St. Ninian hallowed and St. Kentigern chose for the seat of his religion was honoured also by the footsteps of St. Columba, who came hither in pilgrimage from his island monastery, singing hymns in honour of the apostle of Strathclyde. That nation pined away. Its wasted territory was shared by sundry tribes and strange races. The faith itself scarce survived, and when the see of St. Kentigern fell, its wide possessions were seized by laymen. The restoration in the twelfth century was the work of the sainted son of Margaret. As next in succession to the Scottish crown, David was Earl or Prince of Cumbria during the reign of his brother King Alexander the Fierce; and in the year 1115 he procured the consecration of his preceptor John to the bishopric of his semi-barbarous principedom.

The new prelate, after a short sojourn, fled in terror from the wild tribes over whom he was appointed, and took the staff of pilgrimage for the Holy Land ; but the injunction of Pope Calixtus and the persuasion of Prince David overcame his fears, and he returned to preach repentance and tidings of salvation throughout all the Cambrian dales. Bishop Joceline laid the foundation stone of the new cathedral in 1181. He began at the east, and the work advanced so rapidly that the crypt was consecrated in 1197, on the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul.¹

Whether it was that the monks sent to England by Pope Gregory, under Austin, were less zealous in the discharge of their duties than those of Columba, or because the Saxon was more firmly wedded to his old faith than the Briton, we will not seek to decide, but the fact is apparent enough that in the time of St. Kentigern the progress of the Gospel was much more marked in the northern than in the southern part of the island. In Dumbartonshire the monks of Iona preached the truth in such purity, and lived a life of such self-denial as put to shame their indolent brethren of later years ; but

¹ Three bishops (continues Dr. Robertson) took part in the rite, and its anniversary was commemorated by the institution of a "dedication feast" with a great fair of eight days duration, which is still a high holiday with the unsuspecting youths and damsels of the covenanted west, and of old gathered yearly around the cathedral, for business or devotion, craftsmen from Selkirk, guild burghers from Dumbarton, Solway fishers, shepherds from the forest, Nithsdale yeomen, squires of Carrick, Clydesdale knights, the lordly abbots of Jedburgh and Corsraguel, Highland chiefs from the Lennox, Border moss-troopers from the Liddle and the Esk. That evanescent throng has passed away—even the religious purpose of its first institution is forgotten as if it had never been ;

but Bishop Joceline's magnificent crypt still remains, the admiration of all eyes.

"Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis."

It has perhaps no rival, certainly no superior in the island ; and they who of late years—since it was cleared of modern deformities—have wandered in the gloom of its central maze of pier and pillar, or have lingered in the twilight of its noble arcades on either side, will confess that the chroniclers of Melrose gave the old abbot of their house no undue praise when they wrote, "Jocelinus episcopus sedem episcopalem dilatavit et Sancti Kentegerni ecclesiam gloriose magnificavit."—Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals, by Dr. J. Robertson in "Quarterly Review," vol. lxxv.

in the south the missionaries were glad to make a kind of compromise between the old and the new belief. Gregory himself seems to have been disposed to accommodate his discipline to the habits of the people. He directed their ancient temples to be preserved, and their old days of festivity to be continued. The companions of Austin seem to have brought with them from Italy not only all the subtlety of the schools for which she was already becoming famous, but those habits of indulgence which the close application to abstruse and speculative questions is so apt to engender. In the north, as Bede says, there were apostles "who loved not anything of this world, and who daily practised such works of piety and chastity as they could learn from the prophetic, evangelical, and apostolic writings." But in the south, there was a class whose reading savoured more of St. Gregory, or St. Augustine, than St. Paul—who preferred the "Philology" of Marceianus Capella to the interesting narrative of the evangelists, and neglected both prophets and apostles for Boetius or Cassiodorus.

Before the extinction of the Strathclyde monarchy, the ecclesiastical polity established by Columba and Kentigern was further illustrated and extended by the Culdees, who, differing from the early preachers in being rather a secular than a clerical body, yet continued for about four centuries to maintain with much zeal the usefulness and purity of the Church. Though not mentioned by either Bede or Ninian, or indeed by any writer till about the ninth century, yet Culdeeism was a natural offshoot of the system founded in Iona, and its professors seem naturally to have established themselves in those cells which the ravages of the Danes had compelled the early missionaries to desert. In the immediate neighbourhood of Dumbarton, the name Dalmonach still keeps fresh the memory of the monks who flourished on the banks of the Leven. Unlike their successors, the Culdees neither taught nor practised celibacy, and while some doubt may exist as to whether their form of government

was Presbyterian or Episcopal, there can be none regarding the zeal of those early missionaries of the Cross, the simplicity of character in which they carried on their great work, or their entire freedom from any of those corruptions in doctrine and discipline which, even prior to their time, had crept into the Church in Rome.

Regarding the learning of this period, though little can be said which would have exclusive reference to Dumbartonshire, yet a few words may be necessary to indicate its progress there and in other places. Of Merlin, who flourished in the sixth century, and resided in and about Alclud, we have already had occasion to speak. In his "Avallenau" he bequeathed to his countrymen an elegant specimen of the poetry of his age, and his prophecies continued to be popular with the multitude till times comparatively recent. In those wanderings, which he performed as a penance for inciting Gwenddolau to raise the standard of revolt against his sovereign, Merlin appears to have been as often about the east coast as the west. It was there Kentigern encountered him, to that locality many of his prophecies relate, and that he died and was buried, his grave being yet pointed out beneath an aged tree in the churchyard of Drumelzier, in Tweeddale.¹ Aneurin, Taliessin, and some other bards of the period have also left specimens of their composition, but generally they

¹ On the east side of the churchyard the Pausayl falls into the Tweed; the following prophecy is said to have been current concerning their union:

"When Tweed and Pausayl join at Merlin's grave,
Scotland and England shall one monarch have."

Accordingly (writes Pennycuick, the historian of Tweeddale), the Tweed overflowed and joined the Pausayl on the day of the coronation of James VI. Another prophecy of Merlin's seems to have been current about

the time the Regent Morton was confined in Dumbarton Castle:—

"In the mouth of Arrane a selcouth shall fall,
Two bloodie beasts shall be taken with a false traine,
And derfly dung down withouten dome."

When Morton was told that James Stuart, Earl of Arran, was among his accusers, the Regent exclaimed, "And is it so? I know then what I may look for;" meaning, as was thought, that the old prophecy of the "falling of the heart" (the cognizance of Morton), by the mouth of Arran should then be fulfilled.—Spottiswoode, p. 313.

throw little light upon either manners or occurrences, and no labour of ours could make them attractive to the common reader.¹ Following the bards, and at no great distance, were the monks, who were at once the teachers of religion, the chief artificers of the time, and the custodiers of such secular and theological literature as then existed.

On the industry of the natives of Strathclyde it is not possible to throw much light. Among the Britons the practice of agriculture does not seem to have been neglected in the era extending from the fifth to the tenth century. The tending of sheep was the task assigned to St. Patrick in his captivity; the apostle's friend Dicho seems to have possessed a barn, which implies that the practice prevailed of storing grain, and in the Irish "Annals" for the year 650 there is the mention of a murder which took place in "the bake-house of a mill." Adamnan, the biographer of Columba, speaks of ploughing and sowing, and mentions on one occasion, as the result of the saint's intercession, that they had an abundant harvest. In addition to herbs and pulse, honey appears to have formed part of the monastic diet; and in these days the Brehon laws provided so stringently for the protection of the bees, that if any one carried them away unlawfully from a fort or enclosure, they were considered as wealth or substance taken from a habitation. Orchards at one time were also plentiful in Strathclyde, but their cultivation was often neglected in the civil commotions which disturbed the kingdom, and the extent to which they were laid waste by the Danes in their various invasions, is the subject of frequent lamentation by the native poet Merlin. In building, the use of stone seems to have been almost unknown; dwelling-houses and churches were alike built of rough timber, bound together by slender withes; and if the chief lived in

¹ In the "Four Ancient Books of Wales," "There will come from Alclud men bold
mention is made of "a battle in the ford of Alclud; a battle in the Inver;" and again | and faithful to drive from Prydein bright
armies."

a retreat more secure than could be furnished by these materials, such retreat was, as in the case of Dumbarton, more indebted to nature than art for its defences.¹ In keeping up the means of communication within Strathclyde, the Britons appear rather to have fallen off than improved upon the noble example set by their Roman predecessors. In navigation, some slight advance was made, the rude canoes² of the aboriginal tribes, giving place generally to "currachs" formed of wicker frames covered with the skins of animals, and supplied with masts, sails, and oars. Though it is not likely that the Britons (considering their intercourse with the Romans) were wholly ignorant of the use of money, still barter appears to have been the ordinary mode of carrying on such trade as existed; and for carrying the various commodities between the Western Isles and the mainland, these currachs appear to have been largely employed. In vessels of this description also did the pious missionaries and warlike chiefs of the time carry on the various expeditions. St. Columba and St. Cormack appear to have performed lengthy and even dangerous voyages in them; while in currachs was fought the great battle in the Frith of Clyde between the Scoto-Irish chiefs, Selvach of Lorn, and Duncha of Cantyre.

¹ So late as 1233, in an "Inquisito terrarum de Monachkenneran," an oath was made that sixty years before that date a person called Bede Ferdan, set apart apparently for attending to pilgrims at the shrine of St. Patrick, inhabited near the church of Old Kilpatrick, the great house built of twigs—"Domo magna fabricata de virgis."—*Cart. Paisley*, p. 274. In 1277 the chapter of Glasgow purchased from Maurice, Lord of Luss, the privilege of cutting such timber as might be required for the erection of their steeple and treasury. King Edward I., as overlord, granted Bishop Wischart for the same purpose in 1291, sixty oaks from

Ettrick, and twenty stags from his own table. But the spire of St. Kentigern was not yet to be built. The faithless prelate had scarcely digested the last of the king's venison, before he turned the oaks into catapults and mangonels, and with them laid siege to the garrison which kept the Comyn's castle at Kirkintilloch.

² Remains of several canoes buried deep in the sand have been found along the Dumbartonshire channel of the Clyde, the most recent being at Bowling. Inside was a formidable piece of decayed wood, in shape suggesting a war club, and a few crumbling bones.

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Dunwallon. But the Danes, the inveterate enemies of the conquerors as well as the conquered, continued to commit such excesses in Scotland, that for between two and three hundred years the country may be said to have been in a constant state of turmoil. From the territories they had secured in the north of England, these early scourges of Britain, neither discouraged by defeat nor restrained by fear, overran, time after time, the southern portion of Scotland, and on more than one occasion encountered with success the armies brought against them by the second Malcolm, Duncan, and Macbeth. On the east and west coast their inroads were equally frequent, and some notion of the destruction caused by these scourges may be formed from the circumstance that between the years 801 and 1070 the monastery of Iona was burned to the ground six times, and the abbot and his subordinates as frequently put to the sword. In 1072 William the Conqueror marched northward with an army for the purpose of compelling Malcolm III. to do homage for the possessions he held in England. Before hostilities actually broke out, the two kings appear to have met in conference, and Malcolm, as the weaker of the two, submitted to the demands made by William, as his father, forty years previously, had submitted to the demands made by Canute. But the Conqueror, not satisfied with the promise of Malcolm, or even the possession of his son Duncan as a hostage, laid waste Northumberland and Cumberland, and exterminated many of those families who favoured the Scottish monarch, and whose traditions extended back to the time when these districts were held by their ancestors, without the superiority of England being either claimed on the one hand, or acknowledged on the other.

It is to this dim disturbed period that genealogists trace the rise of the great house of Lennox. Among the Saxon chiefs of Northumbria, who fled for refuge to the court of Malcolm, was Arkil, the son of Egfrith, who, in consideration of the noble stand he had made against the Conqueror, and as some recompense for

the losses sustained thereby, received the gift of that tract of country described most frequently under the title of the "Comitis de Levenax." As the grant was made at a time when boundaries were not observed with very great strictness, it is almost impossible to indicate the exact extent of the ancient earldom, but it may be set down as comprehending at least what came afterwards to be known as the county of Dumbarton, before Drymen, Strathblane, and Campsie were exchanged for the detached Lenxies. Though the title of "Earl" is supposed to be coeval in antiquity with that of "Thane," so well known in the north, it is yet uncertain when it was first used in Scotland; but Arkil's son or grandson, Alwyn, if he was not among the first earls ever created by a Scottish monarch, was at least the first Earl of Lennox of whom history gives any account.¹ He died about 1155, and left a family of young children, for until the eldest came of age it appears from the "Register of Paisley" that the possessions of the family were in the hands of David, Earl of Huntingdon. Another Alwyn succeeded to the title and estates towards the close of the twelfth century, and died in 1225, leaving a family consisting of Malduin, his heir; Dugald, rector of the church of Kilpatrick; Aulay, or Macaulay, whose patrimony was composed of the lands and castle of Faslane and other properties on the Gareloch; Gilchrist, who succeeded to the lands of Arrochar, and became the founder of the Clanfarlane; Christin, who, from the number of charters he witnessed, was probably the "Judex de Levenax," an honour more ancient than that of the earldom itself; and Corc, whose son Murdoc obtained the lands of Croy. Malcolm, Duncan, and Henry were also sons of the second earl, but of them little more is known than that, like Christin, they stand as witnesses to many of the charters granted by

¹ In Money penny's Abrid. "Scot. Chron." | III., they who were called Thanes, as Fife, it is mentioned that in the reign of Malcolm | Atholl, Lennox, etc., were made Earls.

their father. There was also a daughter, Eva, who married Malcolm, son of Duncan, Thane of Calendar, and from whom sprung the old family bearing that title. In 1238, Malduin, the third earl, obtained from Alexander II. a charter confirming to him the earldom of Lennox as held by Alwyn, "excepting the Castle of Dumbarton, which passed into the hands of the king,¹ and the lands of Murroch"—portions of these having previously been gifted to the burgh of Dumbarton.

On the resignation of the Castle of Dumbarton, the chief residence of the Earls of Lennox appears to have been at Balloch, which, from its contiguity to Lochlomond and the Leven, must have

¹ The charter ran thus :—

"ALEXANDER DEI gratia Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse, Maldoveno filio Alwini comitis de Levenax, comitatum de Levenax quem pater ejus tenuit, cum omnibus justis pertinentiis suis; excepto castro de Dunbretane, cum terra de Murrach, et cum toto portu, et cum tota aqua et piscaria, ex utraque parte fluminis de Levyne quantum terra de Murrach se extendit, et cum omnibus aliis ad predictam terram juste pertinentibus, que predicta ex consensu et bona voluntate ipsius Maldoveni comitis in manu nostra retinuimus: Tenendum sibi et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris, in feodo et hereditate, in bosco et plano, in terris et aquis, in pratis et pascuis, in moris et maresiis, in stagnis et molendinis, cum sacca et socco, cum furca et fossa, cum thole et theame et infangandthef, ita libere et quiete sicut aliqui comites nostri comitatus suos liberius et quietius de nobis tenent

et possident: Faciendo inde forinsecum servitium quod pertinet ad [alias nostras] plenarias villas in exercitibus ex auxiliis. Testibus, Gilberto Dunkeldensi et Celestino Dumblanensi episcopis, Ada abbate de Melros, Waltero filio Alani senescallo Scotie, W. Olifard [Olifant] justitiario Laudonie, Patricio comite de Dunbar, W. de Ros, Ada Hostiario, W. Byssat, W. Sowles, Johanne de Maxwel, Johanne de Haya, Thoma de Haya, A. de Dufglas, R. Vinet, Apud Selkirk, vicesimo octavo die Julii, et anno regni domini Regis vicesimo quarto." "Cartularium de Levenax," p. 1. The original of this useful collection of local charters was in possession of the burgh of Dumbarton so late as the close of last century. It appears to have been lost soon after that time, but a transcript had fortunately been made for that industrious antiquary, Walter Macfarlane of Arrochar, and from his collection in the Advocates' Library a copy was prepared for the press by James Dennistoun, Esq., Colgrain, and presented in 1833 to the members of the Maitland Club, by Alexander Campbell, Esq., Barnhill.

been a place of considerable importance in those days. Cather and Faslane were also strongholds occupied either by the earls themselves or members of their family; but before the close of the fourteenth century (if we may judge from the date of various charters), all these places seem to have been forsaken for the seat on the island of Inchmurren.

To a period a few years anterior to the date of the charter just quoted can be traced the erection of Dumbarton into a royal burgh. In 1221, Alexander II., anxious to encourage the trade of the country, and desirous at the same time to bestow some mark of his favour on those who had no doubt stood between him and many an enemy, took a step which, in his age, was considered certain to accomplish both ends. He granted a charter, announcing that he had made a burgh at his "new castle of Dumbarton," granted to its burgesses all the liberties enjoyed by the burgesses of Edinburgh, allowed them a weekly market on Wednesday, and freed them from tolls throughout the country.¹

¹ "ALEXANDER, Dei gracia, Rex Scotorum, episcopus, abbatibus, comitibus baronibus, justiciariis, vice-comitibus, prepositis ministris, et omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue, clericis et laicis salutem: Sciant presentes et futuri me, ad novum castellum meum apud Dunbritan, burgum fecisse; et, eidem burgo et burgensibus meis in eo manentibus, omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines concessisse, quas burgensibus mei de Edinburgh et in eo manentes habent: Concedo etiam in predicto burgo meo, in qualibet septimana unum diem fori, scilicet diem Mercurii: Concessi, etiam, burgensibus qui illuc venient ad predictum burgum meum inhabitandum, et ibi sedentes et manentes erunt kersecum a Pentecoste, anno gracie, millesimo ducentesimo vicesimo primo usque ad terminum

quinque annorum completorum; Et, ut quieti sunt de tolneo et omni alia consuetudine per totam terram meam, de dominicis catallis suis imperpetuum: Prohibeo, itaque, firmiter ne quis, in regno meo ab aliquo illorum tolneum aut aliquam aliam consuetudinem de dominicis catallis suis exigat, super meam plenariam forisfacturam: Concessi etiam, firmam pacem meam omnibus illis, qui venient ad predictum burgum meum inhabitandum: Precipio, etiam, ut omnes, qui, cum mercancis suis ad vendendum vell emendum ad predictum burgum meum venient, firmam pacem meam habeant; et ibi forum exerceant, et bene et in pace inde redeant, salvis rectitudinibus predicta burgi mei: Testibus, Willelmo de Boscho, cancellario; Waltero Olifant, justiciario Laodonie; Philippo de Mowbraye; Ingeramo de Balliol;

In 1224, the same monarch granted to the freemen of Dumbarton and their successors two parts of the lands of Morvaich (Murroch), for the common good of the burgh, and again, two years later, bestowed upon them a third charter, granting permission to the burgesses to hold an annual fair of eight days' duration, on the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and conferring therewith all the privileges with which such a grant was usually accompanied. From the original documents having been lost sight of for nearly a century, it is impossible to describe with any exactness the privileges conferred by these two later charters of Alexander II., but from certain occurrences which soon took place in the history of the burgh, it is apparent they were akin in spirit, if not in detail, to those so circumstantially set forth in the charter of confirmation granted by James VI.¹

The occurrences referred to were those disputes which, at this early period, took place between the men of Dumbarton and the men of Glasgow regarding the nature and extent of their several privileges. Till the time of William the Lion the villagers of Glasgow were the mere men of the Bishop,² and when they did

Henrico de Ballioll; Johanne Maxwell; Roberto, filis Roberto de Ross; Johanne de Haye; Henrico Merschell: Apud Jedvord viij^o die Julij anno regni nostri octavo." The original has been long lost sight of. The above is taken from a copy written evidently about the end of the fourteenth century, and now kept in the town's charter-chest with other documents of a kindred nature. Keeping out of sight its own internal evidence, the authenticity of the document is fully established by the charter of confirmation of James VI. in 1609.

¹ So late as 1685 (Nov. 9) an entry occurs in the Burgh Records: "Comrs sent to Edr

with 'ane old charter, under the great seall, grantit be Alexander," of the lands of Murvaich to this burgh, daited at Air, 28 Jan, and of the King's reign the 17 yeir. Ane uther charter be King Alexander, of the founding of this burgh, dated 8th July, at Jedbrut, in the 8 yeir of his reign, under the grit seall. Ane uthir charter be King Alexander, of the toll and customs of this burgh and tua pairts of Murvaich, dated at Edr the 12 of Dec., and of his reigne the last yeir.

² In the "Chartulary of Glasgow," fol. 45, there is the following: "Quod homines, nativi, et servi Episcopi Glasguen. quiete et libere sint a solutione tholonei."

receive their charter from that monarch between 1175 and 1180, it was not granted to them as a body, but to Jocelyn the Bishop, who was to have "a burgh in Glasgow with a market on Thursdays." The freemen of Dumbarton, therefore, thinking that their charter far surpassed Jocelyn's in respect of the privileges it conferred, endeavoured to prevent "the Bishop's men" from trading either to or past Dumbarton by the Clyde, or through the burgh to the West Highlands generally, unless the customary "can" or tax was paid by those so trading. For twenty years did the burgesses of Dumbarton resist the claim of the "Bishop's men" to pass "can free" through their territory, till at length, in 1242, their disputes reached such a height that the peace of the whole west coast seemed endangered, and Alexander III. interposed a fresh charter granting special exemption to "the Bishop's men" in their trade with Lennox and Argyll.¹ This arrangement sufficed till the end of the fifteenth century, when it was found necessary for the preservation of the peace to draw up a "Mutual Indenture," by which the parties concerned bound themselves to observe, maintain, and defend each other's rights, neither of them pretending privilege or prerogative over the other so far as the river Clyde was concerned.²

¹ It was different in ecclesiastical matters. In the Life of St. Kentigern, Jocelin relates how it came to pass that the Bishops of the See were subject to neither York nor Canterbury, but were vicars of the apostolic See itself, and took precedence and had power above even kings so long as Cumbria was a kingdom.

² The following documents will throw some additional light upon the disputes between the burgesses of Dumbarton and those of Glasgow and Renfrew, regarding the navigation of the Clyde:—"In an inventory of writings belonging to the city of

Glasgow, there is an entry to this effect:—No. 2. Item, A Charter be King Robert the first, dated at Glasgow the 15th day of November, and of his Majesty's reign the twenty-third year, which was in the year 1329, approving and ratifying a charter granted by King Alexander his predecessor last deceased, which was King Alexander 3, dated at the Maiden Castle the 18th day of June, and of the said King Alexander his reign the 26th year, which was the year of God 1275, which is repeated verbatim in the said King Robert's charter; and bears the said King Alexander to direct his charter to

As the very principle upon which burghs were founded was exclusiveness it soon became a settled maxim in the laws of Scot-

the Sheriff, Baillies, and Provosts of Dumbarton; and to say to them thairby, that they knew weill how his Majesty had granted to the Bishop of Glasgow, that his men of Glasgow might go to and return from Argyll with their merchandise freely and without any impediment. And because the same was granted be his Majesty to the said Bishop before the foundation of the burgh of Dumbarton, commanding therefore, that if they had taken any thing from the said Bishop his men, that without delay they would make restitution, and that none should vex or trouble them against this commission upon his Majesty's highest displeasure.

Decree of the Lords Auditors in Parliament, in the case of the Bishop, Provost, Baillies, and Community of Glasgow, against the Provost, Baillies, and Community of Dumbarton, 1469.

IN the actione and caus persewit be a reverend fadir in Criste, Andro, Bischof of Glasgu, and the Provost, Baillies, and Communitie of his cite of Glasgu, on the ta parte, againe the Provost, Baillies, and Communitie of the burgh of Dumbartane on the tothir parte; anent the stopping and impediment makin to the said R. fader, and to the Provost and Baillies and Communitie of Glasgu, in the bying of certane wyne fra Peris Cokate Fransch man, and out of his schip in the water of Clide, in contrar thar fredome, as was allegit. Bath the said partijs beand present be thar procurators and commissars, and thar charteris, infestments, evidents, richts, resouns and allegaciouns beand at lenth sene, herde, and understandin; The Lords auditours of complaints decretis and

deliveris, that the said Provost, Baillies, and Communitie of Dumbartane, has wrangit and injurit the said Rev. fader, and the said Provost, Baillies, and Communitie of Glasgu, in the stoppin of thaim in the bying of the said wyne, and tharin has brokin thair privilege, fredome, and thair ald infestment grantit to thaim be our Soverain Lord's predecessours of lang tyme of befor, as is contenit in thair charteris and infestments maid tharuppon, schawing and productit befor the . . . Lords, in sa far as the said R. f. Provost and Balzies of Glasgu was the first byars of the said wyne, and tharefter stoppit in the resaving of the samyn, be the said Provost, Baillies, and Communitie of Dumbartane, as was clerely provit befor the said Lords be the schawin of the instruments and indenturis of bath the partijs: And ordanis the said Provost, Balzies, and Communitie of Dumbartane, to desist and cess of sic wrangwis stoppin and impediment makin in tyme to cum, and to be punyst for the said injure done be thaim of befor, at the wil of our Sovverain Lorde.

Indenture between the Burghs of Dumbarton and Renfrew, as to the Determination of Disputes between the said Burghs. [1424.]

FRA the incarnacioun of our Lorde Jm. cccc. twenty and four; In the decollacion of Saynt John the Baptiste, In the Kyrk of Saynt Patrik, quhare thare come twelffe of the burch of Dumbartane, that ar for to say, John Stute, John of Banachtyn that tyme balzeis, Donald Flemyng, John Sammale, John Waltir, John Henryson, Wilzam Stut, Wil of Hall, John Adamson, John Nevynson, Mackay Baxtar, and Sir Davy Rede; and

land that all merchants and burghs should enjoy their own privileges, and that none but guild brethren should buy or sell within the

uther twelffe of the burch of Renfrew, Necole Jonson, John Watson that tym balzeis, Sir Fynlaw Buntyn, Sir Robert of Edderdale, John of Stanhous, Fynlaw Gilcriston, Rankyn Oglach, Wil Johnson, John Johnson, Robyn of Knok, John of Langmur, and Adam Hude. The quhilks xiiij of the forsayd burws, with consent and assent of bath thair communitis; the quhilks considerande and zarnande the fredome of bath the burws to be suppleit, and frendschip to be maynteinyt, made conventioun and ay leftand bande, betwixt the forsayd partis and burws; the quhilks conventioun and bande is thus as follows. THAT IS FOR TO SAY in this manner: That the balzeis and the wyt of the said town of Dumbartan, sal chese sax of the worthiaste, discretest, and mast tretabile; and uther swa the balzeis and the wyt of Renfrew sal tak uther sax of thair burch, in the samyn maner, with ane oureman, the quhilk ourman sal be takyn a tym of the ta burch, ane uther tym of the tother; the quhilks xii, with the ourman succeedandly in thair tymis, sal determyt al playnts, iniuris and debats, done and to be done be the said burws and partis lelily and treuly, as in thair wyttis and powers extend, and as the cause requiris: And gis ony kind of personis of the sayd burws, dos ony wrang or iniure til uther, thai sal cum to the balzeis, and to the wyt of the said tovnis, and mak their complaynts; the quhilks bailzeis and wyt, sal do thair lele besyness vnpartiabilly, to reform wrangs and plants done agayn thair fredomis; the quhilks giff thai may nocht do as for cause, thai sal put it to the determinacioun and the summissioun of the xii personis and the owreman, at the fornemyt place of Saynt Patrik;

the day, of determinacion to be limite and set bi the consent of bath the partis. Alswa it is poyntit and fullyly accordit betwixt thir sayd partis, that giff ony thyngis happynis, that lyis nocht in the sayd partis power to be determyt, ovther be see or be lande, thai sal pas with the consent of bath the partys, to the place qwhar thai trow that sunnest remede and discussion sal be gottyn to thaim bath; and ather partis sal gife til uther, the lelest and the treuest consale bi thair wyttyn, lelily and treuly as thai wad do to yair awin nychtbur at hame, within their awin fredom: And at al thir fredomis sal be kepit in tyme for to cum, that nane sall forstall na by within vthiris schyris na fredom, withoutyn leve purchest of thaim that powar has, bot ilk an entercomovn with uther within thair burws, to by and sel as gude nythburhede walde, frely and passabilly. To the quhilks al thyngis to be fulfillit, and to be haldyn in maner as is befor wryttyn ather part til uther, the haly euangellis twechit, has giffyn bodylyk ath. IN THE WYTNES of al thir thyngis and syndry, the comovn sele of the burch of Dumbertane, to the ta part remaynand with the burges of Renfrew, is to put: And to the tother part remaynand with the burges of Dumbertane, the comovn sele of the burch of Renfrew is to put, the saidis day and place before wryttyn.

Decree of the Chamberlain of Scotland, in the Action between the Burghs of Renfrew and Dumbarton. [1429].

TIL AL THAIM til quhais knowlage thir presentis lettrez sal to cum, Johne Forstar of Corstorfyn Knycht, Chamberlane of Scotland, greting in God; Syne mede and merit

liberties of any royal burgh. Thus while competition between the individual merchants of a guild was not likely to be carried to any

able thing it is, to beir witnes to suthfastnes, WE mak it kende be thir our lettres, That of mandiment and powar gefin til vs be our liege Lorde the King, anence the debate mouit betuix the burges and communitie of the burgh of Dumbertane on the ta part; and the burges and communitie of the burgh of Renfrew on the tother parte, anence certane fredomes and fyschangis belangand thaim; Efter the execucioun of our saide Lorde the Kingis bidding, We summonyt the burges of bathe the said burrowis to comper before vs, as commissaris hafand ful pouar in that cause, at Glasgow, the tuysday the xxii day of the moneth of Nouembre, the zere of our Lord m.ccc. twenty and nine; And in the samyn maner We gert the Sherifs of bathe burrowis sumound the Lordis and the Gentilles of the contree, to comper befor vs the said day and place, to be apoun an assise, touchand the debats of the said burrowis. The quhilk day, comperit befor vs the Commisaris of bathe the burrowis, hafeand ful power to be thair commissions, schawand thair charters, evidents, and thair complants in writt. The quhilk beand seyn, rede, and herde, and inforsyt, with consents of bath the partis, put thaim til ane gude assise of thir Lordis and Gentillis vnderwrityn, That is to say, Sir Robert of Conynghame Lord of Kilmaurs, Alexander of Mongumrij Lorde of that ilk, Alane Stewart Lorde of Dernele, Patrik of Houstoun Lorde of that ilk, Thomas Maxwell Lorde of Netherpollok, John of Langmore, Alexander Stewart, David Stewart, Lorde of Fynnarde, John of Culquhone Lord of that ilke, Thomas Malvil Lord of that ilk, John of Buchquhanan, Robert of Hamiltoun,

Williame Lorde of Badinhath, William of Dunlop, Johne Logane, Johne Naper Lorde of Kilmeheew, Donaldbene M'Alpi, James of Douglas, Murchou, Johne Broune of the Kennet, and Alexander of Narne of Sandforde, Tuechand thair fredomez and fyschingis befor said is: The quhilk forsuth gude assise, beand wele avisit, Decretit, Deponit, and Determinit, that the burges and communitie of the burgh of Renfrew ar in possessioun of the fisching of the Schotts, quhilk is callit the Sand orde: Alswa the saide assise deponit, that the burges and communitie of the said burgh of Renfrew are in possessioun of the Mid[stream] of the water of Clyde, and auch to have the custom and ankerage of yt that commys within thaym, the quhilk water of Clyde thai synde extendis til the [Eri]kstane; And fra thine downe, the assise decernys of yt that is debatable, the profit of yt to be devidit and departit betwene thaim of bathe the burrowis: And this til al thaim to quham it affers, or may offer in tyme to cum, We mak it kende be thir presentcs lettres. IN WITNES of the quhilk thing, to thir presentis lettres our seel is to put; and to the mare soverte and sekirte, the seel of Sir Robert of Conynghame, Alexander of Mongumry, Alane Stewart, John of Culquhone, John Logane, and Johne of Buchanane to thir lettres ar to put, at Edinburgh the thrid of the moneth of Januare, the zere of our Lord, a thousand four hundreth twenty and nynt zere.

Seven tags annexed;—On the back, The decreett appertens to us, gevin be the Chamberland of Scotland, aganis Dumbartane.

great extent, the equally healthy principle of competition between burgh and burgh seems to have been almost unknown. Yet this monopoly, however mischievous may have been its effects, could not well be prevented. In the turbulent times to which reference is made a great step was gained when communities could be induced, for any consideration, to substitute the arts of peace for those of war; and as the system of granting local privileges was the readiest and most effective course that could be adopted to accomplish such a desirable end, it need excite no wonder that it was frequently adopted, even though the ultimate effect was to cripple, while in its infancy, the general trade of the country.¹

So far as Dumbarton was concerned, an opportunity was soon given its burgesses of showing that their love of commerce had made them neither less loyal nor less courageous. In the year 1263 Haco, King of Norway, incensed at certain excesses committed among those whom he considered his subjects in the Western Isles, declared his intention of proceeding in person against their author, the King of Scotland, with such a force as would enable him to establish for ever the wavering dominion of the Norwegian crown over this portion of its possessions. In July 1263 the preparations were completed, and the fleet led out by the king in person, left the rendezvous at Herlover, the port of Bergen; but a series of unlooked for delays took place on their route, and it was not till September that Haco's fleet entered the Frith of Clyde. To allow time for concentrating his forces, Alexander III. commenced to negotiate with his formidable foe, till at length (says Tytler, following the chronicle of Snorro Struelsen), the patience of Haco became exhausted; and finding that he had been made the dupe of one

¹ Some idea of the value of property in the county about this period may be gleaned from the circumstance that in 1288, Duncan, Earl of Fife, vicecomes of Dumbartonshire,

accounted for 54 lib. 6s. 8d. as the amount of the small rents of that baillery for two years. William Fleming was the constabularius.—"Chamberlain's Rolls."

younger in years, but more skilled in diplomacy than himself, he declared the truce at an end, and despatched Magnus, king of Man, with a squadron of sixty ships into Lochlong. Along with Magnus were the vassal chiefs of the Hebrides, who had joined Haco in his progress to the western coast, Prince Dugal and his brother Allan, grandsons of Reginald, king of the Isles, and a large body of soldiers who ranked themselves under these leaders. Then commenced a scene of havoc and slaughter, which made it appear that in proportion as the vengeance of the Norsemen had been deferred it was to be made swift and terrible when once let loose. Laying waste the country bordering Lochlong,¹ they ran their vessels ashore at the head of the loch, and unshipping their smaller boats, succeeded in dragging them across the narrow neck of land which at that point separates Lochlong from Lochlomond.² This beautiful lake, from its retired situation, had been deemed little exposed to attack; and on some of the islands with which it is studded were numbers of people, who, not anticipating the extraordinary measures which the persevering enterprise of these northern pirates enabled them to carry into execution, had taken refuge in a retreat which they esteemed perfectly secure. To their terror and dismay the flotilla of the Norsemen was upon them before any plan of defence could be adopted. Multitudes of the unhappy peasantry were put to the sword, and the country around the lake, then a wealthy and populous district studded with villages and fertile in agricultural produce, was reduced in a few days to an arid smoking desert, strewn with the dead bodies of its inhabitants, the smouldering fires of plundered granges, and the blackened ruins of cottages and castles. From

¹ At Knockderry is a small fort supposed to be of Danish origin.

² The words of the Norwegian chronicle are:—"The persevering shielded warriors of the throwers of the whizzing spear drew

their boats across the broad isthmus. Our fearless troops, exactors of contributions, with flaming brands wasted the populous islands in the lake and the mansions around its winding bays."

Lochlomond one of the Norse chiefs named Allan, the brother of Prince Dugal, at the head of a wild multitude penetrated into the very heart of Dumbartonshire and Stirlingshire, slaying many of the inhabitants, carrying off everything that was worth the labour of transport, and destroying by fire what they could not remove. But this was the last triumph of the Norwegians in Scotland. Their measure of success was now full; and the event which had been so eagerly anticipated by the sagacious calculations of Alexander III. at last occurred. Scarcely had the Norwegians secured their plunder in the vessels in Lochlong when the weather suddenly changed, and the fleet was attacked by a hurricane which drove the whole of the ships from their moorings and reduced ten of them to complete wrecks. During three days over which the storm extended, the heights commanding the Norwegian fleet, were covered by the Scottish soldiery, who used their advantage to such purpose that Haco was compelled to land the remnant of his forces, and engage in conflict with the well-equipped army of Alexander. The result is known to every one possessing the slightest acquaintance with Scottish history. With the battle of Largs terminated the last hope of the Norwegians to establish a footing in Scotland, nor did they ever after appear in a hostile manner on the shores of the Clyde, which had been so often given over to their excesses.

After a prosperous reign of thirty-seven years, Alexander III. was killed by a fall from his horse, while riding between Inverkeithing and Kinghorn on the night of March 19th, 1286. As his family had one after another been borne to the grave before him, the nearest heir to the throne was his grand-daughter Margaret, or, as she was sometimes called, "The Maiden of Norway." But unfortunately for the peace of the kingdom, she did not long survive her grandfather, having died at Orkney in 1290, while being conducted to her dominions by the ambassadors appointed for that

purpose.¹ As the happiness or misery of the Scottish people hung suspended on this single life, we need not wonder at the expression of contemporary writers, that at the report of her death the kingdom became disturbed, and the whole community sunk into despair. As the last descendant of Alexander III., her death entailed upon Scotland two of the most grievous calamities which can befall a nation—a civil war carried on by fierce and powerful competitors for the crown, and a war of defence against an ambitious neighbouring sovereign who had long plotted to destroy the independence of Scotland. Failing the descendants of Alexander, the right of succession belonged to the heirs of David, Earl of Huntingdon, third son of David I. Among these were Robert Bruce, who claimed as the son of Earl David's second daughter, and John Baliol, who claimed as the grandson of the eldest daughter. As the order of succession was not ascertained in those ages with the same precision as now, each of these competitors became the centre of powerful factions, that, uncontrolled by the authority of the regent appointed on the death of the king, broke out into rebellion against the government, and carried fire and sword into each other's territories. Edward I. of England, a king as artful as he was brave and ambitious, had for years been endeavouring to destroy the independence of Scotland by reviving the old claim of its feudatory dependence upon the English crown—a claim which, if it ever had any foundation in fact, was solemnly renounced by Richard I. In

¹ Letter from William, Bishop of St. Andrews, to King Edward. In obedience to the King's commands, his envoys and those of Scotland, who had been sent to him, met at Perth on the Sunday next after the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, together with some of the Scottish nobles, to hear the royal answer to the questions laid before him by the Scottish envoys. And

this being done, they were on the point of setting out towards the Orkneys for the purpose of treating with the King of Norway's envoys and receiving their Royal Mistress, when a lamentable rumour (insonuit in populo dolorosus rumor) sounded through the people that the little maiden was dead.

an evil hour for the peace of Scotland, the contending parties, forgetting the interest of their country in their own personal interests, accepted the proffered aid of Edward as umpire. After various delays, and much ostentatious display of his desire to decide justly, Edward gave judgment in favour of Baliol, who at once professed himself the vassal of England, and submitted to every condition which the exacting monarch was pleased to prescribe. In the exercise of his assumed right as feudal superior, the English king in November 1292, issued an order to Nicolas de Segrave, Custos of the castles of Dumbarton and Ayr, commanding him to put Baliol in possession of both these fortresses.¹ But it served no useful purpose. The reign of the new king commencing in humiliation, was continued in disaster, and ended in disgrace. Provoked by the haughty and unscrupulous demands of Edward, even the passive spirit of Baliol began to mutiny; but it appeared that in this respect he only fell into the trap prepared for him by his wily master. The time had come when the English monarch could dispense with the services of his vassal king, and therefore, having subdued the revolt of Baliol, compelled him to resign the sovereignty amid every disgrace which tyranny could suggest. King Edward next openly announced his intention of managing the affairs of the kingdom in his own name, and to show that this was no empty threat, opened a Parliament at Berwick in August 1296, where he settled many points connected with the government of Scotland. Here he also received the homage of the clergy and nobles, and such of the lesser barons and burgesses as chose to obey his summons.²

¹ "Rotuli Scotiæ" I., p. 12.

² Palgrave's Illustrations.

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1296 TO A.D. 1329.

ALLEGIANCE TO EDWARD I. BY DUMBARTONSHIRE FAMILIES — WALTER DE DUNFRES, PARSON OF DUMBARTON — CAPTIVE OF WALLACE — CAPTURED NEAR GLASGOW, AND CONFINED IN DUMBARTON CASTLE — MENTEITH, GOVERNOR OF THE CASTLE — OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONDUCT OF MENTEITH — THE WALLACE SWORD IN THE CASTLE — ROBERT BRUCE CROWNED KING — HIS WANDERINGS IN DUMBARTONSHIRE — ROMANTIC OCCURRENCE ON LOCHLOMOND SIDE — BRUCE'S RESIDENCE AND DEATH AT CARDROSS.



AMONG those connected with Dumbartonshire who signified their allegiance to Edward by signing what is known as the "Ragman Roll" were—Malcolm, Earl of Lennox; Duncan Macgilchrist, descendant of Alwyn, the second earl, and founder of the Clanfarlane; Maurice de Arncaple, progenitor of the M'Aulays of Ardincaple; Macoum de Buquhannan, and Walter Spreul, "Senescalli Comitibus de Lennox;" William Fitz Thomas de Noble, supposed to be an ancestor of the Nobles of Ardardan; and "John le Naper del counte de Dumbretan," reputed to be the founder of the house of Merchiston, but more likely connected with that of Kilmahew.

Another who at this time sought the favour of the English monarch was Walter de Dunfres, then Parson of Dumbarton, but who served his new master so faithfully as to be raised in after years to the high post of Chancellor of Scotland. Previous to his submission he appears to have taken a somewhat active part against Edward, as his Majesty caused a writ to be transmitted to the Sheriff of Dumbarton, authorizing him to return to the repentant Parson all the money which he had forfeited by sedition and rebellion.¹

¹ In Crawford's "Officers of State" (vol. i. p. 17), there is the copy of a mandate calling upon him to expedite, under the Great Seal, a discharge to Sir William Maule of Panmure, of a part of his relief due to the Crown.

Following the notable example set by his bishop, Wishart of Glasgow, there is some room for believing that Dunfres may have before this time found it convenient to take the oaths prescribed by Edward, and afterwards break them. Five years before the date of the Berwick Parliament, a De Dumfreys appears as one of the commissioners appointed by Edward for the purpose of taking care of and examining all the records which had been gathered together concerning the claims of the different competitors for the Crown.¹ There is a slight difference in the manner of spelling the names; but making due allowance for the carelessness of transcribers, and the mutilated state of the documents relating to that age, it is not unlikely that De Dumfreys, keeper of the records, was one and the same with De Dunfres, Parson of Dumbarton, and Chancellor of the kingdom.

Not content with having secured the sworn allegiance of the chief families in Scotland, Edward, before his return to England in 1296, placed friends of his own in command of the principal strongholds in the country, and sought to overawe the inhabitants of the larger towns, by placing them under the surveillance of English soldiers. The Governor of Dumbarton Castle was again changed. An order bearing date the 5th October, and addressed to James, Seneschal of Scotland, was issued, commanding that Alexander de Ledes be put in possession of that fortress, and also made Sheriff of the County.

About this period William Wallace appears for the first time on the stage of public affairs. His connection with Dumbartonshire commenced in early life. His father, Sir Malcolm Wallace of Elderslie, in Renfrewshire, having refused to take the oath of allegiance to the English monarch, they both fled to the mountainous district in the north of the county, and took refuge there from the

¹ Robertson's "Index of Charters," Introduction, p. 11.

vengeance with which they were threatened. The younger Wallace, profiting by the example of his father and the precepts of his uncle (an ecclesiastic near Stirling, who had been his tutor), speedily became celebrated for his independent spirit and brave conduct. An insult received in Lanark from a band of English soldiers, and then the slaughter of an English Sheriff, were among the first of a series of events which made him the determined and systematic enemy of England. "It was from this time (says an ancient chronicler) that all who were of bitter mind, and who had become weary of the servitude imposed by the domination of the English, flocked to this brave man like bees to their swarm, and he became their leader."¹ By his courage and genius, no less than from his extraordinary strength of body and great powers of endurance, he soon showed by success how well qualified he was for the part to which he had been called by the voice of his companions.

Traces of the presence of the hero in Dumbartonshire about this time are to be found in his biography by the minstrel Harry, and also in the unwritten traditions of the district. In Rosneath parish there is a high precipitous rock, known as the "Wallace Leap," from the circumstance, it is said, that on one occasion, when closely pursued by his enemies, he spurred his steed over the dangerous height. The poor animal (tradition further affirms) was killed on the spot, but Wallace himself escaped unhurt, and, having reached the side of the Gareloch, swam beyond the reach of his pursuers. In the pages of "Blind Harry," Wallace afterwards appears in the district referred to rather as a conqueror than a fugitive; for we there read that he sacked the town of Dumbarton, laid the Castle of Rosneath in

¹ "Frac he thus the Schyrraive slewe
Scottis men fast till him drewe,
That wyth the Inglis oft time ware
Aggrevyd and surpprysed sare.

And this Williame thai made thare
Owre them cheftane and leddare."
—Wynton.

ashes, and then proceeded to Faslane, where he was warmly welcomed by his friend and supporter, Malcolm, Earl of Lennox.¹

Among the notes to Sir Walter Scott's poem of "Rokeby," there is an extract from an old manuscript written by one Ralph Rokeby, to the following effect:—"There is somewhat more to be found in our (the Rokeby) family in the Scottish History about the affairs of Dun-Bretton town, but what it is, and in what time, I know not, nor can have convenient leisure to search. But Parson Blackwood, the Scottish chaplain to the Lord of Shrewsbury, recited to me once a piece of a Scottish song, wherein was mentioned that Wm. Wallis, the great deliverer of the Scotts from the English bondage, should, at Dun-Bretton, have been brought up under a Rokeby, captain then of that place; and as he walked on a cliff, should thrust him on a sudden into the sea, and thereby have gotten that stronghold, which, I think, was about the 33d of Edw. I. or before."²

But it is with the sad closing scene of the hero's life that Dumbarton stands most intimately associated. The Castle and also the

1 "Than to Faslane the worthy Scot gan
pass,
Quhar Erle Malcolm was bydand at
defence,
Richt glad was he of Wallace gude pre-
sence."

—Blind Harry.

² Sir Walter Scott probably strikes the true key-note to this passage, when he says:—"To what metrical Scottish tradition Parson Blackwood alluded, it would be now in vain to inquire. But in Blind Harry's 'History of Sir William Wallace,' we find a legend of one Rukbie, whom he makes keeper of Stirling Castle under the English usurpation, and whom Wallace slays with his own hand:—

In the great press Wallace and Rukbie met,
With his good sword a stroke upon him set;
Derfly to death the old Rukbie he drave,
But his two sons scaped among the lave."

These sons, according to the romantic minstrel, surrendered the castle on conditions, and went back to England, but returned to Scotland in the days of Bruce, when one of them became again keeper of Stirling Castle. Immediately after this achievement follows another engagement, between Wallace and those Western Highlanders who embraced the English interest, at a pass in Glendonchart, where many were precipitated into the lake over a precipice. These circumstances may have been confused in the narrative of Parson Blackwood, or in the recollection of Ralph Rokeby."

Sheriffship of the county was held at the period in question by Sir John Menteith, second son of Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith.¹ His name does not appear in the "Ragman Roll," but after his capture at Dunbar, in 1296, he seems to have given in his allegiance to Edward, and in August of the following year undertook to serve in the expedition fitted out by that sovereign against France. In this service Sir John appears to have borne himself in such a way as secured the favour of his new master, for soon after his return to England he obtained a grant in the following terms of the two important offices mentioned above :—"Edwardus," &c., "universis et singulis tenentibus cæterisque fidelibus nostris de castro de villa et de vicecomitatu de Dunbreton," &c., "custodian castri villæ et vicecomitatus prædictorum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis dilecto et fideli nostro Johanni de Menteth nos comississe noveritis," &c., "Dat apud villam Sancti Andræ xx Martij."²

Popular tradition has long connected the name of Menteith with the betrayer of Wallace.³ "Blind Harry" records that the Governor of Dumbarton Castle not only took up arms against his own country, but basely effected the capture of Wallace through a friendship formerly existing between them. About the simple fact of the capture there can be no question; it is corroborated by several witnesses of fair repute; and in a memorandum to one of the documents published by the "Record Commission," it is plainly stated that "forty merks were given to the valet who spied out William Wallace, and John de Menteith obtained, not, as Buchanan says, the

¹ This Earl of Menteith appears from the Chamberlain's Rolls to have temporarily filled the office of Sheriff of Dumbartonshire in 1290.

² Wodrow M.S., "Jac.," vol. i., 14, No. 9 (in Advocates' Library), referring to the original in the Tower. Quoted in Napier's "Memoirs of Merchiston," p. 530. The

year is not mentioned, but it was most probably 1303-4, when Edward was at St. Andrews.

³ A certain Ralph de Haliburton, one of the prisoners taken at Stirling, and carried into England, undertook to seize Wallace, and for this purpose was sent back to Scotland, but history is silent as to his proceedings.

governorship of Dumbarton Castle for his services, but a gift of land of the value of a hundred pounds."¹ While it would be difficult to establish that anything like cordial private friendship ever existed between Wallace and Menteith, it is yet not improbable, that the circumstantial account given by our northern Homer may be in accordance with the main facts of the case.² The latter, it is true, was the acknowledged governor of Dumbarton Castle for the English interest, but then he was a Scottish nobleman, and was known not only to have fought at one time for the independence of his country, but was destined in after years to furnish at Bannockburn another proof of the power with which he could wield his sword in defence of her rights. Nay, if the governor of Dumbarton Castle could change sides as occasion suited, there is nothing even improbable in the Minstrel's statement that he made use of a former friendship with Wallace to effect his capture. "Cursed be the day of the nativity of Sir John Menteith (says Arnold Blair, the faithful chaplain of Wallace); may his execrated name be for ever blotted from the Book of Life." Langtoft, speaking of the capture of Wallace, says Menteith pursued the hero closely, and by means of the treason of his servant, Jack Short, took him one night when he deemed himself secure in the company of his mistress. It was generally reported

¹ De la terre, c'est a savoir cent livres pour Johan de Menteth.—Palgrave's Scottish Documents, p. 154.

² Lord Hailes was the first writer of any note to throw a doubt over "Blind Harry's narrative." Those who condemn Sir John Menteith (he says) ought to condemn him for having acknowledged the government of Edward I., and accepting an office of trust under him—not for having discharged the duties of that office. "Annals," vol. ii. p. 346. The Minstrel's narrative has been ex-

amined more recently, and still more closely, by Mr M. Napier, who, anxious no doubt for the honour of the Rusky descent, endeavours to prove that little or no intimacy could have taken place between Wallace and Menteith, and further, alleges that even after the execution of the hero the governor of Dumbarton continued to be trusted, honoured, and beloved by those who had at heart the independence of Scotland.—"Memoirs of Merchiston," pp. 527-534.

that Wallace had slain Jack's brother, which made him more willing to do his master this ill turn.¹

Some doubt exists as to whether the capture was made in Glasgow or the neighbouring village of Robroyston, but in whichever place, the attendant circumstances narrated by his fond biographer are quite in keeping with the occasion. As Wallace slept (says the Minstrel) two soldiers stole into the room and removed his arms and his bugle, while Menteith kept watch outside. Having rudely shaken him out of his slumber, the two men attempted to secure the hero; but they far miscalculated their own strength as well as his; finding himself disarmed, he seized an oaken stool as the first object within his grasp, and with it struck them both dead at his feet. Menteith now showed himself, and having explained to Wallace that as the building was surrounded by soldiers, escape was impossible, pledged his knightly oath that if he would allow himself to be carried to Dumbarton his life should be spared. Wallace upon this, submitted to be made prisoner, and trusting to his old friendship with Menteith, accompanied him quietly to Dumbarton, where he was kept till intelligence reached Edward that his most formidable foe was now within his grasp.²

¹ "William Waleis is nomen that master was
of theves

Tiding to the king is comen that robbery
mischeives,

Sir John of Menetest sued William so nigh,
He took him when he ween'd least, on
night, his leman him by,

That was through treason of Jack Short,
his man,

He was the encheson that John so him ran.
Jack's brother had he slain, the Waleis
that is said,

The man Jack was fain to do William
that braid."

Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 329.

² This seems the most appropriate place for referring to a tradition connected with a huge two-handed sword, still shown in the Castle, as the weapon which Wallace wielded so powerfully in defence of his country's independence. At this distance of time there are of course many difficulties in the way of proving that the old weapon can rightly assert an ownership so illustrious, but it may assist some wavering sceptic to mention, that the tradition can lay claim to great antiquity, and in circumstantial uniformity, possesses at least one essential element of credibility. In 1505, when James IV. visited Dumbarton, the following item of expendi-

Overjoyed at the tidings, the English monarch at once ordered Wallace to be sent to London in custody of a band of tried soldiers, that he might at least go through the form of a trial previous to his execution. Though his journey thither was by the most unfrequented route, yet from the crowds that gathered round him his progress rather resembled that of a conqueror than a captive, and when he reached the metropolis the sympathies of even the English became so thoroughly roused in his favour that, instead of being taken through the city to the Tower, he was quietly lodged in the house of a private citizen. On the next day, being the eve of St. Bartholomew, Wallace was tried at Westminster. Being impeached as a traitor by the king's Justice, Wallace answered that he could not be a traitor, as he owed Edward no allegiance, nor while

ture occurs in the books of the Lord Treasurer, under date December 8:—"For bynding of ane riding sword and rappyer, and binding of WALLASS SWORD with cordis of silk and new hilt and plomet, new skabbard, and new belt to the said sword, xxvjth." In 1644, when Provost Sempill entered on the keeping of the Castle, an old two-handed sword without a scabbard, is described in the inventory of arms as then lying in the Wallace Tower. Under instructions from the Board of Ordnance, the weapon was sent to London early in the present century, and was shown for some years among the other curiosities in the Tower. At the suggestion of the Duke of Wellington, it was then examined by Mr Meyrick, who pronounced it to be a sword of a later date than Wallace, and had most likely been carried in state ceremonials before various English kings. In compliance with a request contained in a local memorial, the sword was returned to Dumbarton Castle, and hung there somewhat neglected, till its

exhibition at Stirling on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Wallace Monument in 1861 led to a neat oak case being prepared for its reception. An attempt to remove it altogether to the Museum on the Abbey Craig, led the War Office authorities to refer again to the Meyrick report as to the antiquity of the weapon, and instructions were thereafter given, permitting it to be exhibited in the Castle armoury only as a sword reputed to have belonged to Wallace. The weapon measures from point to point four feet eleven and a-half inches, the handle being one foot two inches, the guard half-an-inch, and the blade itself three feet nine inches. It varies in breadth from two inches and a-quarter at the guard to three-quarters of an inch at the point, and weighs six lbs. It has been welded in two places, and is believed to have lost each time from six to eight inches in length. The scabbard and silk binding renewed by King James IV. cannot now be traced.

he lived should he ever receive it. To the charge of having burnt villages, stormed castles, and slain the liege subjects of the king, Wallace confessed that he had done so, yet it was not of Edward of England he would ask pardon. Upon this confession he was ordered to be executed immediately with all the ignominy his enemies could devise. The head was stuck on a pole on London Bridge, and the limbs sent—the right arm to Newcastle, the left to Berwick, the right leg to Perth, and the left to Aberdeen. Thus was consummated the final act of that tragedy which had its origin in the jealousy and subserviency of the Scottish nobles themselves, was matured by the eagerness of the governor of Dumbarton, and perfected by the hostility of Edward.

Wallace's mantle fell on no unworthy successor—Robert Bruce, the grandson of that Bruce who had contested the throne with Baliol. Though educated in the Court of Edward, and for a time seemingly won over to his views, Bruce yet appears at a very early period to have resolved on doing what he was able to free his country from the thralldom under which it was suffering. His grandfather, Robert Bruce the competitor, appears to have taken no very decided steps to set aside the award of the English king, while his father, more intent upon lessening the influence of the Baliol and Comyn families than wielding supreme power himself, lent his active assistance to Edward, and appeared in Scotland among the leaders of his army. The ambition of the younger Bruce took a more daring flight. By turns the partizan of Edward and the vicegerent of Baliol, he appeared for a time to stifle his own pretensions to the crown; but as his character gradually developed itself this desire became so evident and so deep-rooted as to give a firmness and consistency to his whole life. Even before the capture of Wallace the murder of Comyn compelled Bruce to adopt open measures of hostility against the English king, and the mangled remains of the great patriot had hardly been withdrawn from public

gaze when, with maimed rites and in presence of a scanty train, he was crowned at Scone by the Bishop of St. Andrews.

It was after the unfortunate engagement at Methven that Bruce commenced to lead that wandering and precarious life among the wilds of his native country which, as in the case of Wallace, made him more familiar with the people, and roused many of them to embrace his cause. Being joined by his own wife and the wives and sisters of a few of his followers, who preferred the perils of a life in the woods to the protracted misery they would undergo if captured by the English, Bruce with his faithful followers retreated still farther westward in the direction of the head of Loch Awe. But this was a part of the country peculiarly beset with danger; the Comyn faction mustered strong in Argyllshire, and every member of the family had vowed vengeance against Bruce for the slaughter of their kinsman. Proceeding through a narrow pass between Dalmally and Bunawe Bruce's party was suddenly attacked by a body of Argyll Highlanders under the chief of the Macdougalls—the Lord of Lorn—and so fierce was the encounter that it was with great difficulty Bruce and two or three more escaped with their lives. Soon after this defeat the King resolved upon proceeding to Ireland, and despatched Sir Neil Campbell with a small company to procure, if possible, a sufficiency of ships and provisions among his kinsmen in that country. Meanwhile, he directed the course of his party towards Dumbartonshire, a district in which he considered he would not only be safe but welcome, as Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, had long been among the trustiest of his friends. Bruce appears to have approached Lochlomond so far southward as to give rise to serious apprehensions about getting across, but this was possibly owing to a desire to avoid Perthshire on the one hand, or get to some particular portion of the Earl's estate on the other. Barbour, in his metrical life of Bruce, has recorded certain romantic incidents connected with this visit of the King to Dumbartonshire, and which have thus been

modernized by Tytler :—On reaching the east side of the lake Bruce made diligent search along the shore in the hope of discovering some boat in which he and his companions might cross to the lands of Earl Malcolm ; but in this he was disappointed, nor were the scouts he despatched on either side more successful. Failing better quarters, therefore, they bivouacked for the night in the caves of Craigrosten, and glad must they have been of even this shelter, for the winter was now commenced, and they were but indifferently protected from its bitter blasts. As Bruce's party were crouching together, they became alarmed by a strange stirring and breathing around them, and began to fear that they had unwarily entered a den occupied by outlaws more desperate than themselves. On a light being procured the cause of alarm was found to be a flock of wild goats which, like the belated wanderers, had taken refuge in the cave for the night. Bruce, it is said, was so pleased with his shaggy companions, whose warm breath was anything but disagreeable to himself and his thinly-clad followers, that he from that time took an especial liking to the goat species, and in after years when he occupied the throne in security, made a humorous enactment that on manors belonging to the crown all goats should go grass-mail free, or, in other words, that no rent should be taken for their pasture. Next day Sir James Douglas, who had now completely recovered from the wound received at Dalry, after a long search, found a little crazy boat in one of the creeks of the loch, but it was so small and leaky that not more than three persons could be taken across at a time, and of these two were continually throwing out water, while the third rowed with an energy which was poorly recompensed by the swiftness of the rickety craft. But, wretched as was the conveyance, its discovery was hailed with joy by all present, and Bruce and Douglas, with another, whose name is not given, threw themselves into it, and were landed in safety on the west side. The boat was then despatched for a new freight ; but a few of the party, impatient

at the delay, plunged into the lake, and with their swords in their teeth and their clothes on their back, swam across in less time than the boat took to perform the passage.¹ Though Bruce's followers

¹ Barbour thus describes the adventure :—

The king, efter Sir Niele was gane,
To Lochlomond the way has tane ;
And cam thar on the third day,
Bot tharabout na bot fand tha
That micht tham our the watir ber.
Than war they wa on gret maner,
For it was far about to ga,
And tha war into dout alsua
To meit thar fais that spred war wid,
Tharfor endlang the lochis sid
Sa beslay tha socht and fast,
Quhell James of Douglas at the last
Fand ane litill sonkin bot,
And to the land it drew full hot :
Bot it sa littil was that it
Micht our the watir bot thresum flit,
Tha send tharof word to the king
That was joyfull of that finding,
And first into the bot is gane,
With him Douglas : the third was ane
That rowit tham our deliverly
And set tham on the land all dry,
And rowit sa oftis to and fra,
Fechand ay our twa and twa,
That in a nicht and in a day
Cumin out our the loch ar tha,
For sum of them couth swym full well
And on his bak ber ane fardell :
Sa with swymming and with rowing
Tha brocht them our and all thar thing.
The king the quhillis meraly
Red to thaim that war him by
Romanis of worthy Ferambras
That worthely ourcamin was,
Throu the rycht douchty Oliver,
And how the Dukperis wer

Assegyt intill Egrymor,
Quhar king Lawyne lay thaim befor,
With ma thousands then I can say :
And bot elevyn within war tha
And a woman that war sa stad
That tha na mete thar within had,
Bot as thai fra thair fais wan,
Yhet sa contenit thai thaim than
That thai the tower held manlely,
Till that Richard of Normundy,
Magre his faiis warnit the king
That was joyful of this tithing :
For he wend tha had all been slane
Tharfor he turnyt in by agayne,
And wun Mantrybill, and passit Flagot
And syne Lawyne and all his flote
Dispitously discumfyt he,
And delevyrit hys men al free.
And wan the nalis and the sper
And the croun that Jhesu cerith ber,
And of the cros ane gret party
He wan throu his chevelry.
The gud king upon this maner
Comfort tham that war him ner,
And mad tham gamyn and solas
Quhill that his folk all passit was.
Quhen tha war passit the watir brad,
Suppos tha fele of fais had,
Tha maid tham mery and war blith,
Nocht farthir full fell sit^h,
That had full gret defalt of met,
And tharfor venesoun to get
In tua partys ar tha gane ;
The king himself was intill ane,
And Schir James of Douglas
Into the tothir party was.
Than to the hicht tha hold thar way,

at this time could not be more than two hundred, the crossing of Lochlomond in the manner we have described occupied one night

And huntit lang quhile of the day,
And socht schawis and setis set,
Bot tha gat litill for till it.
Than hapnit at that tym percas
That the Erl of Levenax was
Emang the hillis ner tharby,
And, quhen he herd sa blaw and cry.
He did wondir quhat it micht be.
And on sic maner spyrit he,
That he kneu that it was the king
And than fouronten mar duelling
With all them of his company
He went richt to the king in by
Sa blith and sa joyfull that he
Micht on na maner blithar be ;
For he the king wend had bene ded,
And he was alsua will of red
That he durst nocht rest into na plas.
Na, sen the king discomfit was
At Meffen, he herd nevir thing
That evir wes certane of the king,
Tharfor into full gret dawte
The king full humilly halsit he,
And he him welcumit richt blithly,
And askit him full tendirly,
And all the lordis that war thar
Richt joyfull of thar meting war,
And kissit him in gret dawte.
It was gret pite for to see
How they for joy and pite gret
Quhen that tha with thar falow met
That tha mend had bene ded, farthi
Tha welcumit him mor hartfully.
And he for pite grat agane
That nevir of meting was sa fane.
Thouch I say that tha gret suthly
It was na greting propirly.

.
The baronnis upon this maner

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Throu Goddis gras assemblit wer,
The Erl had met, and that plente,
And with glad hart it them gaf he,
And tha et it with full gud will
That socht nane othir sals thartill
Bot appetite that oft men takis,
For richt wele scourit war thar stomakis.
Tha et and drank sic as tha had
And till our Lord syn lifing mad
And thankit him with full gud cher
That tha were met on that maner.
The King than at tham sperit yharn
How tha sen be tham sene had farn ?
And tha full pitwisly can tell
Aventuris that tham befell
And gret annoyis and pouerti.
The King tharat had gret pite,
And tald tham pitwisly agane
The noy, the travale, and the pane
That he had tholit sen he tham saw.
Was nane emang tham he na low
That he ne had pite and plesons
Quhen that he herd mak remembrans
Of the perillis that passit war :
For, quhen men ocht at liking ar,
To tell of panis passit by,
Plesis to heiring pitwisly,
And to rehers thar ald dises
Dois tham oftsis comfort and es,
With thi tharto folow na blam,
Dishonour, wikkitnes, na scham.
Eftir the met sone ros the King
Quhen he had levit his spering
And buskit him with his menbye
And went in hy toward the se
Quhar Schir Nele Cambell tham met
Bath with schippis and with meet
Salis, aris, and othir thing
That was spedfull to thar passing.

L

and the whole of the following day. During this day the king continued as before to share the toil of his followers, and to support their drooping spirits by his own cheerfulness. While they lay on the banks of the lake over which his men were being conveyed, he beguiled the hours and diverted their minds from misfortune by the recital of some of those o'd romances in which he seems to have taken peculiar delight. The story of Fierabras and the unconquered Oliver, and the adventures of the Twelve Peers of Charlemagne, were told to an audience whose own escapes were scarcely less extraordinary than the marvels to which they listened.¹

To provide against immediate want was now absolutely necessary; and with this object Bruce divided his little band into two parties, who took different directions into the neighbouring woods of Luss for the purpose of engaging in the chase—no longer, as in former days, a joyous pastime, but as a resource to which they were driven by stern necessity. Since the defeat at Methven in the beginning of June, some of his most faithful adherents had never

¹ The romance of Fierabras, which possesses an almost local interest from its recital by Bruce to his followers gathered round him on Lochlomond side, is likely, from the similiarity of the names, to have been the Norman French original of the story which Mr Ellis epitomized in his "Specimens of Ancient English Romances." If we may judge of the original from the spirited translation of the opening stanzas, Bruce's taste in the choice of a story deserves high commendation :—

"It befell between March and May
When kind Corage beginneth to prick,
When frith and field waxen gay,
And every wight desireth her like.

"When lovers slepen with open eye,
As nightengales on green tree,

And sair desire that they should fly,
That they mighten with their love be.

"This worthy Soudan in their season,
Shape him in greene wood to goon,
To chase the boar or the venison,
The wolf, the bear, or the bawson.

"He rode through upon a forest stroude
With great route and royalte,
The fairest that was in all the lande
With alautes, lymeris, and racches free."

Sir James Douglas, and probably many of the barons who were with the king in Dumbartonshire had been educated in France, and were well acquainted with the French romances of the time, of which Fierabras, from the variety of its incidents and the humorous description with which it abounds, was one of the most popular.—Tytler's "Worthies," vol. ii. p. 170.

seen the king, and remained ignorant of his fate. Among these was Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, whom Bruce now sought. He had been pursued by the English into the fastnesses of his own earldom, and by a singular coincidence happened to be engaged in the chase in the very neighbourhood where Bruce and his party were now hiding. As Bruce woke up the echoes with his hunting horn, the Earl at once recognised the blast, and hastened to the spot from which it proceeded. The joy of such a meeting may be easily conceived. Lennox rushed into his master's arms and wept aloud ; while Bruce also deeply moved, pressed his faithful supporter to his heart, and since they were both alive and well, bade him yet hope for the success of their cause. The first emotions of joy having subsided, the Earl began to observe the haggard plight to which his sovereign and followers were reduced, and without loss of time led them to a secure retreat, where they sat down to a more plentiful meal than it had been their lot to enjoy for many days. Dumbartonshire, however, was at this time no place in which the party could venture on a protracted residence, even if such had been their intention. Although the hereditary property of Lennox, it was full of the friends of the Comyns—the Macdougalls, Macnaughtans, and Macnabs—with other families obeying the Lord of Lorn, who had complete possession of the roads and passes, while many of the Earl's vassals had been seduced so effectually from their allegiance that they were eager to waylay the king wherever an opportunity offered, and deliver him up to the English leaders. Bruce, therefore, pressed forward to Cantyre, and advised Earl Malcolm to follow him thither as soon as possible with what force he could yet gather on his paternal estate. This the Earl quickly accomplished, but in passing down the frith with his men, some English galleys got on his track, and were only eluded by a bold, skilful manœuvre. Even in Cantyre, Bruce found he was still pursued by his active enemies, and after a stay there of only two or three days proceeded to the small

island of Rachrine, about four miles from the north-west part of Ireland.

About 1313,¹ Bruce reappears in Dumbartonshire, the threatened victim of a conspiracy concocted by the reputed betrayer of Wallace. The incident does not rest upon the highest authority—(two interpolated chapters of Fordun)—and little or no light is thrown upon it by the public documents of the time, but presuming that it has some foundation in fact, it is thought right to notice it, with the above caution. The version followed is that of Buchanan, lib. viii. Among the few fortresses in the west then holding out against Bruce was the Castle, governed by Sir John Menteith. No way more scrupulous in his conduct than formerly, the governor contrived a scheme by which, if successful, he would obtain a position among the nobility of Scotland, secure the King as he had secured Wallace, and at the same time retain possession of the Castle. To Bruce, Menteith professed himself desirous rather to sell dearly than defend well. He would surrender on condition of being put in possession of the earldom of Lennox, but to no other offer would he so much as give an answer. Bruce hesitated about complying with such a demand, for though the Castle was no doubt of the utmost importance in a strategetical point of view, yet Earl Malcolm was among his staunchest supporters, and had been so when his cause was less popular than now. Lennox, however, who, like Douglas, may have been called “the Good Earl,” insisted that Bruce should comply with the governor’s demand, even though it was none of the most reasonable. He had before this sacrificed for his country all that makes life agreeable, and why should he now be reluctant to

¹ The date is a surmise, and the difficulty of reconciling the incident with certain known occurrences in Menteith’s career shortly before this time might warrant its rejection as apocryphal. Thus, it appears from the “*Fœdera*” that in 1309 Menteith, so far from being opposed to Bruce, was associated with his relative Sir Neil Campbell in an attempt to conclude a truce with England.

part with its honours? The magnanimity of the Earl overcame the scruples of the King; he agreed to the demand made by Menteith; a deed setting forth the several conditions was drawn out and solemnly ratified; and all that remained was for the King to give it effect by taking possession of the Castle. On his journey thither, there came upon the party "in the wood of Colquhoun, nearly a mile distant," a carpenter named Roland, who, having obtained an audience with the King, informed him that Menteith had concealed in one of the cellars a strong body of English soldiers, whose instructions were to sally out when Bruce was seated unsuspectingly at dinner in the great hall, and secure, or if necessary slay him and his attendants. The King being thus in possession of the treacherous design of the governor, continued his way to the Castle. On entering the gate the keys were delivered up to him with the ceremony usually practised on such occasions, and Menteith, with seeming kindness, conducted him over the greater portion of that stronghold which had been his home for the last ten years. One cellar the governor was observed to avoid, and as some colour was thus given to the carpenter's story, Bruce resolved that it should be searched before sitting down to the banquet Menteith had prepared for him. The latter made some objection to this, by pretending that the smith who had possession of the key was then absent, but would return before long. These evasions, as may be supposed, had only the effect of making Bruce more determined to unravel the plot. To the dismay of the governor, the door was at once broken open, and within were discovered a band of soldiers fully armed, who, being separately interrogated, confessed the whole scheme of treachery. If additional evidence was wanted, they said, it was furnished by the ship of war then lying off the Castle, which was commissioned by Menteith to carry Bruce a prisoner to England if his design had been as successful as he expected. But the unenviable distinction of betraying two of the leaders of Scottish independence

was not to be his, and before night-fall he found himself an inmate of that very dungeon where he had planted his emissaries. Bruce's first impulse was to put Menteith to instant death, as he did some of the conspirators of lesser note ; but, traitor though he was, he had several powerful relations, or, as Buchanan says, "some uncommonly beautiful daughters married to great but factious noblemen," and it was therefore deemed advisable simply to place him under confinement. On the eve of the battle of Bannockburn (1314), the King, whose policy led him to conciliate all whom it was possible to conciliate, offered Menteith his freedom on condition of engaging with the Scots against the English in the great battle then drawing nigh. Menteith, equally unscrupulous as before, accepted the conditions, and, strange to say, in his post of danger on the field, this man, otherwise faithless, served his country faithfully, and by his conduct there, the King not only granted him a full pardon for past misdeeds, but conferred on him several other substantial marks of royal favour.¹

In such intervals of peace as occurred between the battle of Bannockburn and the peace of 1328 Bruce seems to have taken every opportunity of strengthening those ties which bound him to

¹ In Robertson's "Index of Charters," p. 14, No. 121, *Johannis Menteith, militas*, appears as having a charter from Bruce of the lands of Glenbecriche, and Aulisay in Kintyre. Sir John Menteith's eldest son, Sir Walter, was grandfather to Sir Robert Menteith of Rusky, who, in 1392, married Lady Margaret, daughter of Duncan, Earl of Lennox. A son by this marriage, Murdoch Menteith, of Rusky, left two daughters who came to share between them half the lands of the earldom,—Agnes, married to Sir John Haldane, of Gleneagles, and Elizabeth, married to John Napier, of Merchistoun.

The Sir Walter above referred to was killed in a feud with the Drummonds, who granted (as compensation, it is said), to the family of the deceased, the lands of Rosneath, in the Lennox. The grant was confirmed by a charter of Robert II., in March 1372, the confirmation proceeding upon a grant which Mary, Countess of Menteith, made to the deceased John de Drommond of the lands of Rosneath, and the grant which the said John made to Alexander Menteith, knight (father of the above Sir Robert), of the same lands, all described as in the Lennox.—Reg. Mag. Sig., 113.

Dumbartonshire. In the parish of Cardross, and on a summit overlooking the vale of Leven and the lower portion of the vale of Clyde, he built a residence, to which he retired as often as his kingly cares permitted. All traces of the building have long since disappeared, but tradition has kept alive a knowledge of the site, on what is now two wooded knolls forming part of the farm still known as Castlehill, on the north side of the Cardross road, and about a mile from the Cross of Dumbarton. A somewhat steep ascent on the western side appears to have led to a terrace, running along the top, on which may have been a building from eighty to a hundred feet long and about twenty in breadth. An erection this size, not more than one storey over the ground floor, and probably a ground floor only, divided by a narrow court, but joined by a cross building at one end and a gate at the other is a probable conjecture as to King Robert's residence at Cardross.¹ Here, as we learn from

¹ Lecture by Marquis of Bute, Rothesay, Jan. 1875. Here he said is before antiquarian investigation a search of extraordinary interest. "For I believe the house was not a castle, as we generally use the word, but merely a construction mostly of clay and timber, with a mortarless stone base, perhaps a low, vaulted ground floor, used for cellars, larders, wash-houses, etc., and the upper parts of timber and clay, like those with which the courtyard of Rothesay Castle was once crowded. A careful removal of the turf would in all probability show, as it did elsewhere, the foundation of King Robert's house, the scene of events which are told of where few or almost no other things touching Scotland are known. The work has yet to be attempted." Continuing his scheme of reconstruction, the Marquis observed, "If we enter the house through a porch with a strong gate and bars, and perhaps its portcullis

hanging over our heads by chains from the machinery in the engine-room above, we would probably go through a narrow passage, with porter's room on one side, and perhaps the guard-room on the other, and then get into a narrow court like a wynd. The lower storey of stone would have been devoted to such offices as the larder, where we know that sixty-one carcasses at a time were wont to hang. An outside stair, probably on the left hand, looking westward, with a penthouse for it, would have brought us to the door of the great hall. Most likely the great hall would be a room about 50 feet long and 20 broad, with seven or eight at the bottom, cut off by a wooden screen, to shut off the open door, and the rougher preparations for serving the dinner. The hall itself would have windows along both sides, and very likely an open fireplace in the middle, and a hearth with a fire made of peats, of which the Con-

the accounts of the High Chamberlain, he spent much of his time in constructing vessels of war and of pleasure, in sailing in the Clyde and the Leven, in hawking when his health permitted, and in improving his palace and park. In 1321 we find Earl Malcome giving to Bruce a carucate of land in Cardross for one-half the lands of Lekkie nearest Buchaum (probably Buchanan) in the county of Stirling; and in the same year Adam, the son of Alan, gives to the king an additional two merk land in the barony of Cardross for the lands of Moyden in the county of Ayr.¹ The books of the Lord Chamberlain enables the student to follow with great exactness the daily life of Bruce at his mansion in Cardross. By their aid he may be seen adorning the interior of his mansion, extending his pleasure grounds, and engaging in the chase. At one time he is in company with his nephew Randolph, making experiments in ship-building, and at another he is found sailing his vessels on the Clyde, or harbouring them in the Leven. As circumstances characteristic of the nobility and simplicity of his nature, it may be interesting to mention that at Cardross Bruce is said to have kept a lion and a jester, and, as his household books show, attended regularly to the wants of each.² He appears also to have entertained the clergy and barons who visited him at Cardross in a truly royal style, and though his expenditure was arranged with order and economy, his huntsmen, falconers, dogkeepers, gardeners, and rangers, shared with those of

stable used to buy cartloads. The roof would be open timbers, like the inside of the roofs of most modern churches, with a sort of spire or lantern, with pierced windows, rising up in the middle of it for the smoke of the fire to go up through, and letting in as little rain and wind as possible. Down the sides would be long tables, boards on trestles, put away except at meal times, with benches for the servants. The upper end of the hall

would be raised about six or eight inches above the rest, and that platform, would have been the table for the King and the Lord of Moray.

¹ Robertson's "Index to Charters," p. 8, No. 80, and p. 15, No. 14.

² The Chamberlain's accounts are hardly so clear about the lion as Mr Tytler would lead his readers to infer. The jester will be referred to afterwards.

higher rank the abundant hospitality of the monarch. His largesses to the higher officers of his household, and to some others of his favourite friends, were frequent and ample ; while his charity appears to have been as extensive as it was no doubt well directed, and a pleasing, though not remarkable feature in his character is presented by his gifts to "poor clerks" for the purpose of enabling them to carry on their education at the schools.¹

¹ Tytler's "Scot. Wor." vol. ii. p. 146. The accounts of the Grand Chamberlain were kept in Latin in the reign of Robert I. and some of his successors. A short extract from "Computum Constabularii de Cardross" will therefore suffice in a work intended more for general reading than select antiquarian students. The following items are taken almost at random :—"Item computat pro fabricatione 80 petrarum ferri pro navibus Domini Regis et Comitis Moraviæ, ac pro aliis negociis manerii de Cardross, 26 solidi et 8 denarii, videlicet pro qualibus petrarum 4 denarii. Item, levantibus mala Domini Regis per tres vices, 3 solidi. Item, pro ductione magnæ navis Domini regis ab aqua in rivulum juxta manerium, ac pro actiliis ipsius navis cariatas, et portatis in manerium de Cardross, 3 solidi. Item, pro 200 plaustratis petarum in æstate anni 1328, 4 lib. Item, in 200 plaustratis petarum, in omnibus custibus factis circa cariagium earundem usque ad Cardross is anno 1329, 4 lib. . . . Item pro custodia 61 martorum interfectorum ut patet inferius per tres septimanas, 12 denarii. Item pro interfectione eorundem, 5 solidi. Item in portagio carcosiorum eorundem in lardarium, 12 denarii. . . . Item Idem computat pro construccione unius porte juxta novam Cameram apud Cardross, 6 denarii. Item pro emendacione et tectura domus cujusdam

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pro falconibus ibidem cum construccione cujusdam sepis circa ipsam domum, 2 solidi. . . . Item in construccione cujusdam domus ad opus *Culquhanorum*. [An obscure word which occurs nowhere else—conjectured to be "keepers of the dogs," from the Gaelic root, Gillen-au-con—abbreviated, Gillecon, Colquhoun ; or "*Tulquhanorum*," probably a house for the king's calves.] Domini Regis ibidem, 10 solidi. Item computat Johanni filio Gun pro negociis navium Domini Regis, 6 lib. 13 solidi et 4 denarii. Item computat 12 hominibus de Dumbar transeuntibus usque le Tarbart, pro magna nave Domini Regis reducenda, 28 solidi. Item in expensis hominum transeuncium cum Patricio stulto veniente de Anglia usque le Tarbart, 18 denarii. . . . Item in 6 petros crete empt. pro pictura nove Camere apud Cardross, 3 solidi. Et in 10 lib. stanni pro clavis ad reparacionem ipsius Camere dealbandis et pro vitreo opere fenestrarum ejusdem, 3 solidi et 4 denarii. Et pro 30 ponderibus bosci ad comburendum pro negociis operis vitrei dictæ camere, 2 solidi et 6 denarii. Item pro 1 celdr. calcis albe emptæ pro dealbacione dictæ camere, 8 solidi. The translation of a few of the entries in the "Cardross Household Book" may not be unacceptable to the general reader :—"Item.—To wood for the scaffolding of the new chalmer, 3s. ; making a door

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The peace of 1328 was hardly concluded when Bruce, warned by intimations which could not be mistaken that a leprous disease, contracted amid the hardships to which he had been exposed after the battle of Methven, was likely to prove fatal before long, retired to his palace at Cardross, where, in such intervals as his disease allowed, he amused himself in the manner we have described. In the early part of the following year he appears to have been so far recovered as to be able to undertake a journey to Edinburgh for the purpose of welcoming Prince David and his young English bride, the Princess Joanna. But his disease continuing to increase in virulence, he immediately retired to his rural seclusion in Cardross, and died there on the 7th June 1329, in the fifty-fifth year of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign. A few days before his death a scene took place in the sick King's chamber which is thus beautifully and affectingly described by Froissart:—"In the meantime it happened that king Robert of Scotland was right sore aged and feeble, for he was grievously oppressed with the great sickness, so that there was no way with him but death; and when he felt that his end drew near, he sent for such barons and lords of the realm as he most trusted, and very affectionately entreated and commanded them, on their fealty, that they should faithfully keep his kingdom for David his son,

for do., 6d. To 100 large boards, 3s. 4d. To Giles the huntsman, for his allowance for one year, six weeks, three days, 1 chalder, 3½ bolls meal. Grant to do. by the king's command, 26s. 8d. To a net for taking large and small fish, 40s. To two masts for the ship, 8s. To persons employed in raising the masts three times, 3s. To working 80 tons of iron for the use of the ships and the castle, at 4d. per stone, 26s. 8d. To bringing the king's great ship from the Frith into the river near the castle, and carrying

the rigging to the castle, 3s. To twelve men sent from Dumbarton to the Tarbet to bring back the king's great ship, 28s. To thirty loads of firing to be used in the work of the windows, 2s. 6d. To conveying Peter the fool to Tarbet (on Lochfine), 1s. 6d. The house for the falcons cost 2s.; a fishing net, 40s.; seeds for the orchard, 1s. 6d.; green olive oil for painting the royal chamber, 10s.; chalk for the same, 6d.; a chalder of lime for whitewashing it, 8s.; and tin nails and glass for the windows, 3s. 4d."

and, when this prince came of age, that they should obey him and place the crown on his head. After which he called to him the brave and gentle knight, Sir James Douglas, and said before the rest of the courtiers—‘ Sir James, my dear friend, none knows better than you how great is the labour and suffering I have undergone in my day for the maintenance of the rights of this kingdom ; and when I was hardest beset, I made a vow which it now grieves me deeply I have not accomplished. I vowed to God that if I should live to see an end of my wars and be enabled to govern this realm in peace and security, I would then set out in person and carry on war against the enemies of my Lord and Saviour to the best of my power. Never has my heart ceased to bend to this point, but our Lord has not consented thereto ; for I have had my hands full in my days, and now, at the last, I am seized with this grievous sickness, so that, as you all see, I have nothing to do but to die. And since my body cannot go thither and accomplish that which my spirit hath so much desired, I have resolved to send my heart there in place of my body to fulfil my vow.¹ And now, since in all my realm I know not any knight more hardy than yourself or more thoroughly furnished with all knightly qualities for the accomplishment of the vow ; in place of myself, therefore, I entreat thee, my dear and tried friend, that for the love you bear to me you will undertake this voyage, and acquit my soul of its debt to my Saviour ; for I hold this opinion of your truth and nobleness, that whatever you undertake I am persuaded you will

¹ According to a MS. in the Morton collection, Bruce appears up till a short time before his death to have determined that his heart should be buried in Melrose. In a letter to his son David, “given at Cardross on the 11th of May, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign,” and likely the last he ever dictated, he desires the young Prince to continue to entertain that affection he had

conceived for the monks and monastery of Melrose, “in which, according to our special and devout injunction, our heart is to be buried.” As the reader will see from the fate of Douglas and his knights in an action near Theba, on the borders of Andalusia, Bruce’s first desire for the burial of his heart in Melrose was the one which came to be fulfilled.

successfully accomplish, and thus shall I die in peace, provided that you do all that I shall tell you. I will, then, that as soon as I am dead, you take the heart out of my body and cause it to be embalmed, and take as much of my treasure as seems to you sufficient for the expenses of your journey, both for you and your companions; and that you carry my heart along with you and deposit it in the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, since this poor body cannot go thither. And it is my command that you do use that royal state and maintenance in your journey, both for yourself and your companions, that into whatever lands or cities you may come, all may know that you have in charge to bear beyond the seas, the heart of King Robert of Scotland!' At these words all who stood by began to weep; and when Sir James himself was able to reply, he said—' Ah! most gentle and noble King, a thousand times do I thank you for the great honour you have done me in making me the depositary and bearer of so great and precious a treasure. Most faithfully and willingly, to the best of my power, shall I obey your commands; albeit I would have you believe that I think myself but little worthy to achieve so high an enterprise.' ' Ah! gentle knight,' said the King, ' I heartily thank you, provided you promise to do my bidding on the word of a true and loyal knight!' ' Assuredly, my liege, I do promise so,' replied Douglas, ' by the faith which I owe to God and to the order of knighthood.' ' Now praise be to God,' said the King, ' for I shall die in peace since I am assured that the best and most valiant knight of my kingdom has promised to achieve for me that which I myself could never accomplish!' And not long after (concludes Froissart), this noble King departed this life."

According to the directions of Bruce, his heart was extracted and embalmed; while the body, having also passed through a preserving process, was enclosed in lead, then wrapt in a rich cloth of gold, and finally placed in a strong coffin of oak. After lying in state for some days at Cardross, it was conveyed with great solemnity to the

Abbey Church of Dunfermline, where it was interred under the pavement of the choir.¹ For some time after his death, and especially during the evil days which soon followed, the memory of the good King Robert was frequently recalled to his faithful countrymen by stories of romance and chivalry occurring far away : how, for instance, Lord James of Douglas, commissioned to carry the Bruce's heart to Palestine, set off thither with a gallant company ; how, learning on his way that Alphonso, King of Leon and Castile, was at war with the Moorish chief Osmyn of Grenada, he deemed that aiding the Christian in such a contest was thoroughly in harmony with the purpose on which he had started ; how in a keen contest with the Moslems, Douglas flung before him the casket containing the precious relic, crying out, " Onward as thou wert wont, thou noble heart ! Douglas will follow thee ! " how Douglas was slain, but how his body was recovered, and also the precious casket ; and how in the end Douglas was laid with his ancestors, and the heart of Bruce deposited in the church^a of Melrose Abbey.²

¹ About five centuries afterwards (in 1818), when a party of workmen were clearing away the foundation of the old church for the purpose of erecting a new one, they came upon a tomb which proved to be that of King Robert Bruce. The lead coating and cloth of gold were found entire in many

places ; and on examining the body, it was seen that the breast-bone had been sawn asunder for the purpose of taking out the heart, as described by the historian of chivalry.

² Burton's "Scotland," vol. ii. p. 432.

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1328 TO A.D. 1337.

REIGN OF RANDOLPH AND MAR—BALDWIN HILL—MALCOLM, EARL OF LENOX—PRINCE DAVID AND HIS CONSORT LEAVE DUNDEE FOR FRANCE—THE YOUNG STEWART TAKES REFUGE IN THE CASTLE—OPPORTUNE ARRIVAL OF SUPPLIES IN THE HARBOUR—DAVID'S RETURN TO HIS DOMINIONS—TRAGEDY OF CATHERINE DUNFERMLINE—IMPRISONMENT OF EARL OF ARGYLE IN DUNDEE CASTLE—SIR ROBERT ERSKINE—WALTER DE DENYLLSTONE, THE WARLIKE BISHOP—EARLS OF LENOX—ROLL OF CHARTERS.



DURING the death of Bruce, the government of the country fell into the hands of his nephew Randolph, Earl of Moray, who was appointed Regent. For three years he continued to discharge the duties of his high office with energy and discretion. Without making any undue submission to the powerful nobles by whom he was surrounded, or oppressing those who were beneath him, Randolph contrived, by a wise tempering of justice with moderation, to preserve entire the fabric of the constitution which had been built up with so much care by his uncle. The Regent died suddenly in 1322, under suspicion of having been poisoned by certain emissaries of the Baliol faction, who, to serve purposes of their own, were then taking measures to place Edward Baliol on the throne in preference to the young Prince David—a scheme in which they were aided and abetted by Edward III., king of England. Their plots led first to the defeat of the Bruce party at Duplin Moor, and then to the still more disastrous battle of Halidon Hill (fought in July 1333), where, with the aid of Baliol's troops, the English army, commanded by Edward in person, almost exterminated the Scottish forces under Mar. So great was the slaughter of the nobility at Halidon Hill, that the chronicles of the time speak of the

Scottish wars being at last ended, since not a leader was left of that nation who had either the power to assemble an army or skill to direct its operations. Among the nobles then slain was the aged Malcolm, Earl of Lennox,¹ the tried friend and companion of that king who had snapt asunder the shakles of servility which an unworthy successor was now willing should be again fixed on his country.

Among the few strongholds which remained in the hands of the Bruce party after the battle of Halidon was the Castle of Dumbarton. It was then governed by Sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, who making a skilful retreat from the fatal field, secured the person of the young Prince David and his consort Joanna in the Castle, and fortified it against all attacks. From this place they were afterwards conveyed to France, where they remained between seven and eight years.

In the exercise of that power with which he considered himself

¹ In his dramatic sketch of "Halidon Hill," Sir Walter Scott thus seeks to express the wise yet courageous and patriotic spirit of the old Earl of Lennox :—

"Lennox: (speaking in the Council of Scottish nobles)—

Nay, lordings, put no shame upon my counsels,
I did but say if we retired a little,
We should have fairer field and better vantage ;
I have seen king Robert—ay, the Bruce himself—
Retreat six leagues in length, and think no shame on't.

Regent Mar: Ay, but king Edward sent a haughty message,

Defying us to battle on this field,
This very hill of Halidon ; if we leave it
Unfought withal, it squares not with our honour.

We will lead the middle ward ourselves,
Lennox, thou art wise and wilt obey command—
Lead thou the rear.

Lennox: The rear ! why I the rear ? The van were fitter
For him who fought abreast with Robert Bruce.

Sutherland: The Regent hath determined well. The rear
Suits him the best who counselled our retreat.

Lennox: Proud northern thane, the van were soon the rear
Were thy disordered followers planted there.

Sutherland: Then, for that very word, I make a vow,
By my broad earldom and my father's soul,
That if I have not leading of the van,
I will not fight to-day.

Lennox (to Swinton): O were my western horsemen but
come up,
I would take part with you.

Swinton: Better that you remain—
They lack discretion ; such gray head as yours
May best supply that want.
Lennox, mine ancient friend and honoured lord,
Farewell I think for ever.

Lennox: Farewell, brave friend ; and farewell, noble
Gordon,
Whose sun will be eclipsed even as it rises !—
The Regent will not aid you.

Swinton: We will so bear us, that as soon the bloodhound
Shall halt, and take no part, what time his comrade
Is grappling with the deer, as he stand still
And see us overmatched.

Lennox: Alas, thou dost not know how mean his pride
is, or
How strong his envy.

Swinton: Then we will die and leave the shame with
him."

invested, Baliol conferred upon the Earl of Athole the extensive possessions of Robert, the Stewart of Scotland, grandson of Bruce. This young baron, stript of his patrimony, and closely pursued by the enemies of his house, lay concealed in his paternal estate of Bute for about a twelvemonth after the defeat of Halidon Hill. With a skill and determination far beyond a youth of eighteen, he organized a plan for escaping to the Castle of Dumbarton. Confiding his scheme to two faithful vassals of the family, named Gibson and Heriot, they brought a boat to a convenient spot on the shore late in the evening, and, accompanied by a page and two staunch friends, the Stewart was conveyed to a point on the Cowall shore, where horses were in readiness to convey the party to Dumbarton. Though their flight was mostly through an enemy's country, they succeeded in reaching the Castle in safety before daylight, and were joyfully welcomed by the governor, Malcolm Fleming.¹ Robert the Stewart did not long remain inactive in the district where he now found himself; gathering together such friends of his house as were willing to risk their lives in his cause, he, along with Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, attacked and destroyed the Castle of Dunoon, and put many of its defenders to the sword. The news of this success was not long in reaching his retainers in Bute, who mustered in great force, captured De Lyle, the English governor, and put him to death. Bearing his head in savage triumph along with them, the Stewart's vassals, or, as Wynton calls them, "the Brandanis of Bute," soon after left the island, and joined their master in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton. In this same year (1334), an assembly of the Scottish nobles was held, at which the young Stewart and the Earl of Moray, grandson of the great Randolph, were elected to the office of joint-regents on behalf of King David, then an exile in France. This judicious choice had hardly been made when the friends of

¹ Wynton, vol. ii. p. 78. Fordun à Goodall, vol. ii. p. 313.

national independence were further cheered by the arrival, in the port of Dumbarton, of a large vessel laden with arms, wine, and rich merchandise, which, it is believed, had been sent either by David or his protector the king of France. Edward considered this a circumstance of so much importance that he issued a commission to Edmund de Grymesley, commanding him to set out from Bristol with two large vessels of war for the purpose of intercepting the French vessel on her return.¹ Contemporary historians are silent upon the point whether they were successful in their pursuit or not.

Between the time the young King left Dumbarton and his return to Scotland, a period of eight years elapsed, during which the country was constantly engaged in war with England, and appeared sometimes to be entirely at the mercy of Edward. In 1341 David and his consort returned to Scotland, but five years afterwards he was taken captive at the battle of Durham, and conveyed to London, where he remained eleven years. On his return an occurrence took place strikingly illustrative of the violence which prevailed during the reign of this unfortunate King. While a captive in England, David became attached to a young Welsh lady named Catherine Mortimer, who accompanied him into Scotland on his return thither. From some unexplained reason she became an object of hostility to Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus, and certain other of the Scottish nobles, who instigated two ruffians, named Hulle and Dewar, to make away with her as speedily as possible. Under the pretence that David required her presence at Court, they prevailed upon their unsuspecting victim to set out in company with them, and on the lonely moor between Melrose and Soutra, where her cries could bring no aid, Hulle stabbed the defenceless woman, and instantly despatched her. As they were mounted on horseback, they made their escape from the scene of this cold-blooded murder, and left the

¹ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 320.

vengeance of the King to fall with full force upon their master, the Earl of Angus. Having interred his favourite with great honour in the Abbey of Newbattle, David ordered the Earl to be imprisoned in the Castle of Dumbarton, where he fell a victim to the plague which, in the next year (1361), carried off about a third of the whole population of the country.

David II. died in 1370, and, as he left no children, was succeeded by Robert before referred to, the grandson of Bruce, and the first of the Stuarts. The Earl of Douglas attempted to set aside this succession, but his opposition was overcome by the spirited conduct of Sir Robert Erskine, the then governor of Dumbarton and two other strong castles.¹ During the reign of this King, and also of his successor, Robert III., Dumbarton is not often alluded to by contemporary annalists, and no occurrences of very striking interest appear to have taken place in the district. In the reign of the latter King, the Castle was for a time held by one who may be taken as a fair specimen of the fighting bishops of the age. This was Walter de Danyelstone (or Dennistoun), an individual said to be at one time parson of Kincardine O'Neil, but who, by means which have never been explained, afterwards obtained possession of Dumbarton Castle. Of the use Danyelstone made of the power he thus acquired, Wynton and Fordun give no very high account;² and to get the Castle out of

¹ "Quhen that the king Davy was deid,
His sister's son untill his steid,
Robert Stewart, was made king
Specially throw the helping
Of gude Schir Robert of Erskine,
That Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Stri-
veling
Had in his keeping."

—Wynton.

² Wynton writes again :—

"Master Walter of Danyelston,
Of Kincardine in Nile Parsone,

The Castell tuk of Dunbartane.
That 'Lithgow grieved in Lothiane,
And sundry other landis sore
Grieved that he ever gat in there."

And farther on he speaks of—

"Wycked deeds many and fell
By the men used of that castell."

To the same effect, Fordun says, "Danyelstone took and kept possession of Dumbarton, with a large military force, to the great annoyance of the king and the kingdom."

his hands, the King, or rather the Duke of Albany, who was then chief manager of affairs, set on foot a scheme which had the desired effect, though the transaction is one which does not reflect much credit upon any of the parties concerned. Danyelstone was willing enough to give up the Castle if he received a suitable recompense, which recompense he would fix at nothing less than being made Bishop of St. Andrews. This was no doubt an unreasonable, and even an uncanonical demand ; but so anxious was the duke to get possession of the fortress that, though his own brother was bishop-elect, he induced him to forego that high distinction, and completed with Danyelstone the simoniacal bargain. The records of St. Andrews bear that Danyelstone was elected bishop in 1402.¹

As the intrigues of Albany during the captivity of James I. led to the almost total extirpation of the old house of Lennox, some account of the progress of the family to this period may not be considered inappropriate. To the founder, Arkill and the first and second Alwyns, reference has already been made (*ante*, p. 56). Malduin, the third earl, who succeeded about 1225, temporarily resigned, as has been seen, the Castle of Dumbarton and the lands of Murroch, into the hands of King Alexander II. He also alienated the lands of Colquhoun, afterwards erected into a barony, to Umfridus de Kilpatrick, but, in other respects, the wide estate of the family seems to have been preserved in its entirety, if we except such

¹ "Walter de Danyelstone yet then
The Castell held of Dunbartane,
But by treaty, nevertheless,
He granted, and contented was
To leave his purpose, gif that he
Mycht Byshop of Saint Andrewys be.
Then came the Duke of Albany
And treated intil Abernethy
Wyth his brother then elyte ;
Where through his brother gave up quyte

All title and all claim of rycht
That he had then had as he have mycht,
Til that state of promotioun
By the foresaid electioun.
When thus archdene had done,
The duke treated the priore soon
The chanonis to call to chapiter
Upon a day, and there them gar
Make a knew electioun
In way of comprcmossioun."—Wynton.

portions as were bestowed by the Earl upon certain religious houses in the district. He first confirmed the donations made by his predecessors to the church of Kilpatrick, and then gifted the church with its possessions and an ample addition of fishings in the Leven to the Abbey of Paisley.¹ Litigation, curious for the light thrown

¹ The titles of the different charters in the Lennox Cartulary will best serve to indicate the grants made by the elder Earls, and are at the same time interesting as exhibiting the families who held possession under them at this early period :—

Carta de Cochnach et aliis terris ecclesie de Kilpatrick.

Carta dictarum terrarum et ecclesie conventui de Paslet.

Carta ecclesie de Renyt eidem conventui.

Confirmatio prescripte donationis ecclesie de Renyt.

Confirmatio terrarum et ecclesie de Kilpatrick eidem conventui, 1273.

Carta eidem conventui quod nulle captiones fiant, 1273.

Ratificatio terrarum et ecclesie de Kilpatrick eidem conventui, 1330.

Carta terre de Luss Gilmore filio Maldonei.

Carta homagii de terra de Banwrith domino Johanni de Luss.

Confirmatio libertatum infra terras de Luss eidem domino Johanni, 1316.

Confirmatio terre de Luss Malcolmo de Luss.

Carta terre de Glyne eidem Malcolmo.

Carta terre de Colquhoun Umfrido de Kilpatrick.

Carta terre de Bannerad tribus filiis de Gilmychel.

Carta carucate de Cartonvenach Mauritio filio Galbraith.

Carta terre in Auchencloich Mauritio et Arthuro Galbraith.

Carta libertatum carceris et curie eidem Arthuro.

Relaxatio sectarum curie Arthuro Galbraith.

Carta terrarum de Buchmonyn et de Gilgiranane Arthuro Galbraith.

Carta terrarum de Buthernockis et Kyncaith Willielmo Galbraith, 1238.

Carta terre de Camkell Patricio Galbraith.

Carta de Balcarrage et aliis terris Patricio Galbraith.

Carta terre de Achrefmoltoune Willielmo de Galbraith.

Carta terre de Nentbolg Luce filio magistri Michaelis de Fyntryf.

Carta terre de Kynerine Stephano de Blantyr.

Carta carucate terre de Mukraw domino David de Grame.

Carto terre de Kynerine domino Patricio de Grame.

Carta terrarum de Auchencloich et Strablane eidem domino Patricio.

Relaxatio captionum in terris ejusdem domini Patricii.

Carta libertatum carceris et curie eidem domino Patricio.

Carta terre de Dalchorne Waltero Sprewl.

Carta terre de Dalmore eidem Waltero.

Carta libertatum secte Michaeli Mackessane.

Carta terrarum de Cronverne et Buchmonyne Gilberto de Carric.

Confirmatio terrarum de Buchmonyn Johanni Kennyde, 1393.

Carta terre de Fynvoych Kessano Juveni.

Carta terrarum de Ardeureane et Ardenalochreth filiabus Johannis de Drummond.

by it on the canon and civil law of the period, afterwards arose between the Abbot and Convent, and the Earl's brother Dugald, who had seized the church lands of Kilpatrick and held them in defiance of a remonstrance from a commission nominated by Pope Gregory IX. at Spoletim in 1232.¹ When the differences betwixt

Carta terre de Blarechos Gillemore filio
Malisei dicti Bane.

Carta terre de Drumchastell Johanni de
Lany.

Carta officii *tosheagor* et officii forestarie
de Levenax Patricio de Lindsay.

Carta terre de Buchnul eidem Patricio.

Confirmatio dicte terre Patricio de Lindsay.

Carta de Balecorrach et aliis terris Finlaio
de Campsy.

Carta terre de Nentbolg Ferdane Gillaspic
filio Macmaldouney.

Carta terre de Fynwyk Nigello Macblare et
Murielle sponse sue.

Carta terrarum de Porthnelane Gilberto
Oliphant.

Carta Buchquhanane et Sallachy Mauritio
de Buchquhanane.

Carta terre de Auchmarr Waltero de Bu-
chanan, 1373.

Carta terre de Ladlewn eidem Waltero, 1394.

Carta annui redditus ex dicta terra Finlaio
filio Kessani.

Carta de Mucherach et Holmedalmartyne
Alano dicto Brisbane.

Carta quarundem terrarum Malcomo filio
Bartholomei.

Relaxatio captionum martorum eidem Mal-
colmo, 1354.

Carta prius dictarum terrarum Duncano
Makfarlane, 1395.

Confirmatio de Keanlochlong et aliis terris
Christiane sponse ejusdem Duncani.

Carta terrarum de Eschend Andree de Cun-
ninghame.

Carta terrarum de Kilfassane et Ballindallach
dicto Andree.

Carta terre de Bullul superiore Roberto de
Dunbretane.

Carta terrarum de Bullul et Miltoun Dun-
cano Naper.

Carta terrarum de Buthernok Johanni de
Hamilton.

Confirmatio dictarum terrarum Margarete
sponse ejusdem Johannis, 1394.

Carta terre de Blarechos Maliso Carrach
1398.

Carta terrarum de Blarindess, Auchintroig
et Garthclachach Arthuro filio Andree et
Celestino Maclachlane.

Confirmatio dictarum terrarum eisdem Ar-
thuro et Celestino.

Carta terrarum de Drumfad et Kyrkmychel
Murdacho de Leky.

Confirmatio de Camysradoch et Achigahane
Roberto de Colquhoun, 1395.

Carta terre de Croyne Murechanich filio
Kork.

Confirmatio dicte terre eidem Murdacho.

Carta libertatis molendi in dictis terris eidem
Murdacho.

Inquisitio super libertatem curiarum in terris
quondam domini Thome de Cremennane,
1320.

Carta insule de Elannabot filiis ejusdem
domini Thome.

¹ See Kilpatrick Lands, vol. 2.

Alexander III. and Henry III. of England were accommodated in 1237, Earl Malcolm was one of the guarantees on the part of the Scottish king. By his wife Elizabeth, or Beatrix, daughter of Walter, son of Alan, High Steward of Scotland, he had a son Malcolm who predeceased him, and a daughter Ada, married to Malcolm Drummond ancestor of the Earls of Perth.

Carta terre de Gartechonerane Malcolm
Makedolf.

Confirmatio dicte terre eidem Malcolm.

Alia confirmatio dicto terre idem Malcolm
1274.

Carta terre de Cambrown Tympane Johanni
Makedolf.

Carta terre de Kealbride Dovenaldo filio
Macynel.

Confirmatio de Neved et aliis terris Hamelen
filio comitis Alwini, 1225.

Carta terre de Tulewyn Waltero de Fosselane

Carta quarundem terrarum et officiorum
predicto Waltero, 1351.

Carta terre de Leterwald predicto Waltero.

Carta officii coronatoris de Levenax comiti
Duncano, 1400.

Carta terre de Luss Maldoueni filio Gillemore.

Recognitio terrarum de Luss Maldowani et
Gillemore.

Confirmatio terre de Lusse Gillemore filio
Maldoueneth, 1315-16.

Retornatus terrarum et comitatus de Levenax,
1680.

In addition to the charters, the following will serve still further to show who were owners and occupiers in Dumbartonshire during the reign of Bruce and his immediate successors. The list, which might easily have been extended, is chiefly made up from the index compiled about the end of last century by Mr. William Robertson, then one of the deputies of the Lord Clerk Register for keeping the records of Scotland :—

CHARTERS GRANTED BY ROBERT I.

Carta to Malcolm Fleming of the lands of
Kirkintolach, que fuerunt quon-
dam Johannis Comyn, militis.

„ Malcolm Fleming of the lands of
Auchindonan, in the Lennox,
quam Malcomus de Drumond re-
signavit coram magnitibus nostris.

„ William Fleming, of Dumbarton,
of ane annual of ten marks furth
of Kirkmichael (now Strathleven),
whilk is within the liberty of
Dumbarton.

„ Adæ Brunnings, of the lands of
Gillanderstoun, in le Garviach.

CHARTERS GRANTED BY DAVID II.

Carta confirmations of ane infeftment given
by Malcolm Fleming, Earl of
Wigton, to John Danielstoun, of
the Isle of Inchkalleche, in lacu
de Lochlounne, with the advoca-
tion of the kirk thereof, with the
lands of Kilmarnock.

„ By Donald, Earl of Levenache, to An-
drew Cunninghame, of the lands
of Ascohome, with the milne and
fishing thereof, the fourth part
lands of Leurache, the half lands
of Gartheyre, the lands of Drome-
cairne, and the lands of Bromchean.

„ To James Blair, of the lands of Kil-
kennet in comitatum de Lennox,
in vicecom de Dumbarton, whilk
Gilbert Norie forisfecit.

MALCOLM, son of the above Malcolm, and grandson of Malduin succeeded as fourth earl some time before 1272, as by a charter granted in that year at Kintore, Alexander III. erected a large portion of Lennox territory into a free forest in his favour, and prohibited all other from cutting, hunting, or doing anything against the rights of free forestry. What may then be taken as the boundaries of the earldom, but impossible now to be identified in all cases with existing

Carta to William Galbraith of the lands of Portmelon (Portnellan) in Dumbarton.

- „ To John Reid, of the Park of Pelinflat, in the [king's] Park of Cardross, and Dalguborne (Dalquhurn).
- „ To Roger Cochran of the lands of Kilmahew, with the chapel.
- „ To Malcolm Cissore, of ane annual furth of Leydlovane.
- „ To Maurice Buchannan, by Donald, Earl of Lennox, that pleugh of land commonly called Buchannan.
- „ To William Fleming, son to Symon Fleming, of the lands of Kirk-michall, with the multure, with license to him to big ane milne upon Leven for to serve his lands.
- „ To William Boyd of the lands of Auchmar, quhilk Duncan Luss forisfecit.

GRANTED BY ROBERT II.

Carta confirming a charter given by Robert de Erskyne, of that ilk, Knight, to Patrick Fleming, second son to Malcolm Fleming, of Biggar, of all his lands within the barony of Leynzi, viz., the lands of Bard, Tweouris, Wester Croy, Easter Croy, Smithestoun, Balloch, and Ardre, in excambion for the lands

of Dalnotir and Garscadden, whilk were Patrick Fleming's.

Carta confirming a grant of Thomas Fleming, late Earl of Wigton, to William Boyd, of ane pension of twelve merks sterling, till the Earl or his heirs should infest the said William or his heirs heritably in a twelve-merk land either in the shire of Dumbarton or in that of Lanark.

- „ To Murthac, son of Malcolm, of two-fourth parts of the land called Racheon and Akrenmoneyth (in the Lennox) with the office of serjeandry in the shire of Dumbarton, on the resignation of Malcolm, his father.

GRANTED BY ROBERT III.

Carta confirming a grant by Mary, Countess of Menteith, to John de Drummond, of the lands of Rosneath, disponed by said John Drummond to Alexander de Menteith.

- „ To St. Patrick's chappell in the Castle of Dumbarton, of ten merks sterling, yearly, out of the burrow mails of Dumbarton; and a precept directed to the bailies of said burrow commanding them to pay the ten merks yearly.

EARL MALCOLM *continued*—

localities, are described as from "Easter Douglas to Feyhn, and from Feyhn to Keryn, and as Keryn runs into Phale; then to the water which is called Gall, as the same runs into the lake; and from the lake to Fynobhyn as it runs to the Forth, and from Fynobhyn to the eastern marsh of Cremenane; and from thence to the rivulet which is called Melych, and from that to Keyrn."¹ Earl Malcolm was one of the Scottish nobles who in 1284 became bound to acknowledge the title of Margaret of Norway to the crown of Scotland, and six years later was among the consenting parties to her marriage with Edward Prince of Wales. On the day of St. Valentine the Martyr (14th Feb. 1273), Earl Malcolm granted to the Abbey and Convent of Paisley certain fishings in the Leven with land adjoining the highway to Dumbarton, also wood from his grove of Bonhill, pasture for eight oxen, and such wood and stone as might be required to carry on the fishing. The right of fishing was limited by previous charters to the point where the tide ceased to flow in the Leven. He died between 1290 and 1292, leaving a son.

¹ In a confirmation of this charter made in after years by David II. to Earl Donald, the terms of the grant are thus set forth:—"Sciant presentes et futuri nos dedisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse, dilecto et fideli nostro Malcolmo commiti de Levenax, illas terras cum pertinentiis, videlicet ab Ester Douglas usque ad Fehyn, et ab Fehyn usque ad Keryn, et sicut Keryn descendit in Phale, et deinde usque ad aquam que dicitur Gall, et sicut idem Gall descendit in lacu, et ab eodem lacu usque ad Fynobhyn sicut descendit in Fortht, et ab eodem Fynobhyn usque ad metam orientalem de Cremennane, et ab eadem predicta usque ad rivulum qui

dicitur Melych, et a dicto rivulo de Melych usque ad Keryn, in liberam forestam: Tendas et habendas totas dictas terras cum pertinentiis, dicto Malcolmo et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris, in feodo et hereditate, adeo libere et quiete in omnibus et per omnia sicut aliquae terre in toto regno Scotie, in liberam forestam, alicui mortali liberius dari possunt vel concedi. Quare firmiter inhibemus, ne quis in eadem terra predicta, sine ipsius Malcolmi et suorum heredum licentia speciali, secet aut venetur in contradictione juris dicte libere foreste, super nostram plenariam forisfacturam decem librarum."—"Cart de Lev.," p. 3.

MALCOLM, fifth earl, who in a "carte confirmatio terre de Luss," dated in the year last mentioned, is designated "Malcolmus Comes de Levenax filius et heres quondam Domini Malcolmi," etc. As the friend, companion, and councillor of Bruce, Earl Malcolm occupies a prominent and honoured place among the leaders of Scottish independence.¹ Nor was his death less noble than his life. Among the first to repair to the standard of Bruce, he fell at an advanced age fighting for those principles of which Bruce was the representative. Among the slain at Halidon Hill few left the memory of a career so consistent, so unselfish as the



¹ Barbour thus describes one adventure which befel Earl Malcolm on his voyage to join Bruce :—

"Bot in the samin tym that tha
War in schipping, as you herd me say,
The Erl of the Levenax was,
I can nocht tell yhow throw quhat cas
Levit behind with his galay
Quhill the King was fer on his way.
Quhen that thay of his cuntre
Wist that sa duelt behind was he,
Be se with schippis tha him socht
And he that saw that he was nocht
Of pith to ficht with tha tratouris,
And that he had na ner succouris
Then the Kingis flot farthi
He sped him eftir tham in by,
Bot the tratouris him folowit sa
That tha wele ner him can ourta,
For all the micht that he micht do
Ay ner and ner tha cam him to :
And quhen he saw thay war sa ner
That he micht wele thar monans her,

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And saw tham ner and ner cum ay,
Than till his men this 'gan he say,
'Bot gif we find sum sutilte,
Ourtane all sone sall we be :
Tharfor I red but mar letting
That outakin our arming
We kast our things all in the se,
And fra our schip sa lichtit be
We sall sa row and sped us sa
That we sall wele eschap them fra
With that tha sall making duelling
Apon the se to tak our thing,
And we sall row, but resting ay
Quhill we eschapit be away.
As he devisit tha haf done,
And thar schip tha lichtit sone,
And rowit syn with all thar micht,
And sche that sa was made licht
Rakit slidand throw the se :
And, quhen thar fais can tham se
Farouth tham alwais mar and mar,
The thingis that thar fletand war
Tha tuk, and turnit syn agane,
And be that tha lesit all thar pane.

O

EARL MALCOLM *continued*—

aged Earl Malcolm. He was among those who signed the memorable protest in favour of the independence of Scotland, dated at Aberbrothwick and forwarded to Pope John in 1320.¹ He obtained from Bruce the privilege of gyrrh, or sanctuary for the Church of Luss,² and granted besides certain important rights and exemptions to John of Luss, "in honour of our patron and most holy man the blessed St. Kessog." Earl Malcolm renewed the dispute of his grand-uncle Dugald, the rector of Kilpatrick, regarding the eleemosynary lands of the Church there, and was for some time in danger of the greater excommunication, at the instance of the abbot and convent of Paisley, who resisted the claim made upon them to appear in the Earl's Court. He had two sons—Donald, who succeeded, and Murdoch, who had a grant from his brother of the lands of Duntreath, which, upon his death without issue, returned to the family.³

Quhen that the Erl on this maner
And his men eschapit wer,
Eftir the King he cam him hy
That than with all his cumpany
Into Kintyr arrivit was
The Erl tald him all his cas,
How he was chasit on the se
With tham that suld his awn be,
And how he had bene tane but dout
Na was it that he warpit out
All that he had him licht to ma,
And sa eschapit tham fra.
'Schir Erl,' said the King, 'perfay,
Sen thou eschapit is away,
Of the tynsale is na plenyshing,
Bot I will say the wele a thing,
That thar will fall the gret foly
To pass oft fra my cumpany,
For fele sis quhen thou art away
Thou art set intill hard assay :

Tharfor me think it best to the
To hald the alwais ner by me.'
'Schir,' said the Erl, 'it sall be sa :
I sall na wis pas fer yhou fra
Quhill God gif gras we be of micht
Againe our fais to hald our stycht.'"

¹ Earl Malcolm's name appears seventh on the roll, after Malise of Strathearn, and before Ross. His seal is one of the few remaining.

² See Luss parish. This interesting document was found among the Lennox papers in the Montrose charter-room at Buchanan House, and first printed by William Fraser, Esq., in his memoirs of the "Chiefs of the Colquhoun."

³ It will be observed that the seal of Earl Malcolm differs from that usually ascribed by heralds to the house of Lennox. Sir James Balfour (says Nisbet, vol. i. p. 132), in his

DONALD, sixth Earl,¹ was one of the nobles who became bound for payment of the ransom of David II. During his possession of the earldom, Robert II. granted to his son Alexander Stewart, Lord of Badenoch "*relevium Comitatus de Levenox cum proximo nobis deberi contigerit, cum omnibus et singulis libertatibus et aysiamendis quæ ad ipsum relevium debeant seu poterunt juste pertinere.*" In

"Manuscript of the Nobility of Scotland," tells us that Malcolm de Lennox, one of the progenitors of the Earls of Lennox, went to the Holy Land and was crossed, for which he and his posterity carried for arms argent a saltier engrailed gules cantoned with four roses of the last. From the seals of the elder earls, however, it is evident they bore the saltier plain, not engrailed. The first of the name who appears to have carried the saltier engrailed, was Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, created Earl of Lennox by James VI., in 1578, and in the following year made Earl of March. Sir David Lindsay blazons the arms of "the Erles of Lennox of auld" simply as argent, a saltier cantoned with four roses gules. Walter Macfarlane of Arrochar, an accurate antiquary, and a descendant of the house of Lennox (if not its representative in the male line) gives the following account of the armorial bearings of that family:—Alan M. Arkill, second Earl of Levenax, having agreed to accompany David, Earl of Huntingdon, to the Holy Land, assumed upon setting out as a badge a red St. Andrew's cross in a white field, which, with the addition of four red roses, became the armorial bearings of his successors.—MS., Advocates' Lib. Mr. Napier in his memoirs of Merchiston, refers to the transcript of an old charter in the Register House, which describes the Lennox shield as bearing a lion

passant: but it is not supported by any of the seals engraved in that work. The engrailed saltier came to be adopted as a mark of difference by the cadets of Merchiston, and also of Macfarlane, though it seems probable that the latter at one time bore the saltier waved instead of engrailed. The seal engraved above, and also the signet of Earl Malcolm, are preserved in the Chapter-house at Westminster.

¹ Like the mighty Earls of Strathearn, the Earls of Lennox were of the Celtic manner of life and of the native faction, notwithstanding their pedigree, for surely the first Arkyls and Alwins of Lennox were Saxon. There was something attractive to the Southern in those early times in the security of the mountains and lochs—the free air—the chase—the wild life—perhaps even in the picturesque beauty of the Highlands. You remember how the English statesmen complained of the English lords of the pale in Ireland mixing with the *mere Irish*, as they called them, and becoming *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*—more Irish than the Irish themselves. So this family of Lennox soon ran into Highlanders. In the third generation they were already Maldwais, Dugals, Malcolms, Gilchrists, Duncans, Donalds, and younger sons founded the Highland clans of M'Farlane and Colquhoun.—Professor Cosmo Innes.

EARL DONALD *continued*—

1370 Earl Donald granted to Maurice of Buchanan a charter of lands known as Buchanan and Salachy, with power to hold courts of life and limb, provided those condemned to death were executed on the earl's own gallows at Catter,¹ the reddendo in this case providing for one cheese from every house where cheese was made being sent to the king's army when required, and the payment of six silver pennies in name of blanche form if asked. Earl Donald died about 1373, leaving an only daughter Margaret, upon whom devolved the honour of the earldom.²

MARGARET, Countess of Lennox, married her cousin Walter, son of Alan of Faslane, a descendant of Aulay or Amelec,³ fourth son of Alwin, the second earl. In 1384 Robert II. granted to Walter as "Lord of the earldom of Lennox," a charter confirming an earlier right to summon "weapon-

¹ See Kilmaronock lands.

² It has been affirmed by peerage writers that at this juncture the male representation of the family devolved upon Malcolm Macfarlane of Arrochar, the sixth in direct descent from Gilchrist of Arrochar, fifth son of the second Earl Alwyn.

³ Amelec obtained the property of the church of Rosneath, and a "Salina in Rossneth et Garloch." These he afterwards granted to the Monastery of Paisley. In three of the deeds, the grant is by "Amelec frater Maldoveni Comitis de Levenax, de Ecclesia de Rossneth," and "de donacione Saline in Rossneth et Garloch;" and another is a charter of "Havel fratris Maldoveni Comitis de Levenax," to the same monastery, "de una Salina in Rossneth." In a charter by Earl Maldowin to the Abbey of Arbroath, one of the witnesses is "Aveleth fratre meo."

To a grant by Malduin of the lands of Luss, the witnesses are, "Auleth, Duncano, Gilchrist, et Henrico, fratribus meis;" and in another deed in 1238, Amelec is mentioned in the same terms. In a charter by Alexander II., the king confirms "Donacionem illam quam Maldoyenus Comes de Levenax fecit Hamelen filio Comitis de Levenax, de Neved, Glanfrone, Moiliag," and other lands in Levenax. Amelec or Hamelen had thus acquired Glenfrone, and these other lands, which are all nearly adjoining. In another charter by Earl Malduin, the witnesses are "Domino" "Hamelon fratre nostre" and "Hamelon suo filio;" and in a confirmation charter, by the same Earl, in 1250, to the Abbey of Paisley, the witnesses inserted are "Ameleck, Gilchrist, Duncano, fratribus meis," and "Ameleck Juniore."—"Cart. Paslet, et Cart. de Lev."

COUNTESS MARGARET *continued*—

shawings," an exhibition of arms over the entire earldom, both within the king's lands and all other lands ; and also granting to the said Walter, his heirs and successors, the lands of Achyndouane and Inverdoune, for paying to the chaplain serving at the altar of the Holy Cross in the parish church of Dumbarton, the sum of six merks yearly to pray for the souls of the granter and his predecessors. Dated at the Castle of Rothesay, fourteenth year of the King's reign (1384).¹ Walter of Faslane also obtained the half carucate of land known as Letterwald and the lands of

¹ The original charter is in these terms :—
Robertus Dei gratia Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus suis totius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse, Waltero de Fasselane domino de Levenax et heredibus suis comitibus de Levenax, demonstrationes armorum—totius dicti comitatus de Levenax, tam de terris propriis infra dictum comitatum jacentibus quam de omnibus aliis terris in eodem comitatu, nostris de nobis seu de aliis tentis in capite, una cum correctionibus earundem, et cum defectibus et exitibus dicti comitatus ; et quod nec dicti comites nec eorum heredes nec aliqui alii homines manentes infra dictum comitatum comparebunt coram vicecomitibus nostris, sed ubicunque probarunt in dicto comitatu suam demonstrationem armorum retineri ; de quaquidem dicta armorum demonstratione videbamus evidentiam factam Malcolmo comiti de Levenax et suis heredibus, per Robertum Regem Scotie nostrum predecessorem, sub forma prescripta. Etiam concessimus et donavimus dicto Waltero et suis heredibus de Fasselane et assignatis, et suorum heredum assignatis, totas terras de

Auchindonane et de Inverdowne cum pertinentiis, per omnes rectas metas et divisas suas, in puram perpetuam elemosinam et regalitatum, ita libere pure et quiete sicut elemosina aliqua aut regalitas, infra totum regnum nostrum, alicui mortali liberius datur vel conceditur : Reddendo inde annuatim dictus Walterus et heredes sui de Fasselane ac assignati, vel assignati suorum heredum, sex marcas sterlingorum casualium capellano divina celebranti pro animabus predecessorum nostrorum et pro anima nostra, ad altare Sancte Crucis infra ecclesiam parochialem de Dunbretane, pro omnibus aliis servitiis secularibus consuetudinibus exactionibus seu demandis, que de dictis terris de Auchindonane et de Inverdowne cum pertinentiis, per nos et heredes nostros Reges Scotie, exigi poterunt seu requiri. Insuper concessimus dicto Waltero et heredibus suis comitibus de Levenax, quod ipse et sui dicti heredes gaudeant perpetuo omnibus et singulis libertatibus infra comitatum predictum, quibus ipse aut antecessores sui comites ejusdem usi sunt, tempore nostro aut predecessorum nostrorum Regum Scotie temporibus quibuscunque retroactis ; et pre-

COUNTESS MARGARET *continued*—

Tillichewan. He was present at the coronation of Robert II. at Scone, 16th March 1371, and on the following day formally swore allegiance. His seal is also appended to the Act of Settlement of the Crown, 4th April 1373, in which John, Earl of Carrick, afterwards Robert III., is declared to be the eldest lawful son and undoubted heir of Robert II. The Countess Margaret left four sons—Duncan, Alexander, Alan, and Walter.

DUNCAN, eighth Earl, in consequence of the resignation of his father and mother, obtained, in 1385, a charter from Robert II., "dilecto et fideli nostro Duncano de Levenax militi, totum comitatum de Levenax et dominium ejusdem, cum pertinen. Quiquidem Comitatus cum dominio ejusdem fuit Walteri, filii Alani de Fasselane et Margarete sponsesue, ratione dicte sponse. Et quae dict. Walterus et Margareta, non vi aut metu, etc., in presentia plurium regni nostri procerum, die confectionis presentium, in castro nostro de Strevelyne, sursum redidderunt, etc. Tenend.

cipue si contingat aliquem hominem suum de comitatu predicto, per quoscunque vicecomites nostros aut eorum ministros, ad curiam nostri vicecomitis arrestari, pro actione videlicet que in curia dicti comitis poterit et debeat terminari, ipse vicecomes quem contigerit aliquem hujusmodi arrestari incontinenter dictum arrestatum liberabit ad curiam ipsius comitis, ad subeundem ibidem super actione eadem complementum justitie, cum per ipsum comitem aut suos balivos debite suerit requisitus. Quare universis vicecomitibus, ceterisque ministris nostris quorum interest vel interesse poterit, firmiter damus in mandatis quatenus predictum concessionem nostram, prefato Waltero et suis dictis heredibus, observent et faciant invio-

labiliter observari, et hoc sub pena que incumbit nullatenus ommittatur. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presenti carte nostre est appensum apud castrum nostrum de Rothsay, primo die Junii, anno regni nostri quarto decimo. Testibus, venerabili in Christo patre Johanne episcopo de Dunkeldyn cancellario nostro, Jacobo de Lindsay nepote nostro milite, Celestino Campbell, Andrea Mersar et Celestino filio Johannis, cum multis aliis.—"Cart. de Lev.," pp. 4 and 5. It is in reference to this charter that Lord Hailes says, "Words cannot more strongly express the notion of those times, than that it was the possession of the comitatus which conferred the dignity of *Comes*.—"Case for the Countess of Sutherland."

EARL DUNCAN *continued*—

et Habend. dictum comitatum et dominium ejusdem cum pertinen. etc. dicto Duncano et heredibus suis, de nobis, etc. adeo libere, etc. sicut aliquis de antecessoribus dicti Duncani, dict. comitatum et dominium ejusdem, etc. tenuit suepossedit. In 1391-2, Earl Duncan entered into an indenture with Robert, Earl of Fife, whereby it was agreed that Sir Murdoch, son and heir of the Earl of Fife, should marry Isabella, eldest daughter of Earl Duncan; that Earl Duncan should resign the earldom into the King's hands for a new grant to himself and the heirs male of his body, and which failing, to Sir Murdoch and Isabel and the heirs of their body, and which failing, to return to the Earl of Lennox and his heirs.¹

¹ The original of this singular deed has not been preserved, but a notarial copy in possession of the Duke of Montrose has been printed in the "Claim of Margaret Lennox, of Woodhead." It is in these terms :—"Thys endenture made at Inchmoryme the xvii. day off februarij In the zer off grace 1380 and ellevin, berys Wyntas—Tht it is accordit betvene noblez & mychty lordys, Sir Robert erle of Fyf on the ta part Ande Sr. Duncane erle of the levynax on the tother part, In manner as folowys :—That Is to say, that Sr. Murthow son and are to the foresaid Erle of Fyf, sall hafe to wyfe Isabell the eldast dochtyr of the sayde erle of the levenax. Ande sall endow hyr in the barony of the Redhall, with the appor-tenances in tenandry & in demayn.—Item It is accordyt that the said erle of the levenax sal resyngne up in our lorde the kyngis hand all his erledome of the levenax with the appor- tinances to be enfeffit agyn of hys said Erledom, tyll hym & tyll hys arys male

gottyn or for to be gottyn lachfully of hys body, the quhylks falzeande, to the said Sr. Murthow and Isabelle & to the langest lefand of thaim, & to the arys lachfully to be gottyn betvene thaim, the quhilks falzeande to the nerast and lachful ars of the forsaid Erle of levenax. And to the fulfillzng of this talze the forsayde erle of fyff sall purchas the kyngis assent Ande Waltyr Allownsonys fadyr to the said erle of the levenax. Item It is accordyt that In case geff it happynis the said erle of the levenax tyl hafe ars of his body male or through aventur hym selvyn happyn to be to mary And the said erle of fyf haf a dochtyr to be mar. . . the said erle of the levenax or hys ar male Sal haf to wyfe that dochtyr, And geve the said erle of fyfe happynis tyll hafe na dochtyr than to mary, the said erle of the levenax or hys ar male sal haf to wyf a nest cosyng of the said erlys of fyf at his assignacyon or the saide Sr. Murthowys, but dysparagyng of the said erle of the levenax or of his ar male. Item

It is from this marriage that the misfortunes of the house of Lennox date their origin. In a Parliament held at Perth in March, 1425, the above Murdoch, who had succeeded his father as Duke of Albany, his wife Isabella, their sons Walter and Alexander, and the old Earl of Lennox, along with twenty-six of the highest nobles of the kingdom, were seized and thrown into prison. Murdoch was first confined in the Castle of St. Andrews, but afterwards removed to Caerlaverock in Dumfriesshire; his son Walter was shut up in the Bass, the Earl of Lennox in Dunbar, and the Duchess Isabella in Tantallan. One branch of the house of Albany, young James Stewart, or "Big James," as he was generally called, escaped the general arrestment, but, driven to despair by the impending ruin of

It Is accordyt that the said Erle of the Levenax & hys ar male geve he ony getts as is befor said sal pay to the sayde erle of fyf or to Sr. Murthow hys son for the marriage of the saide Issabelle his dochtyr tva thouzande marks of Styrling proporcyonally at resonable tymes as the tyme happynis off the quhilks tva thouzande marks the forsaid erle of fyf or Sr. Murthow hys son sall alow to the saide erle of the levenax for the mariage of his ar male or off hym selvyn gef it happynis in maner befor said a thousand marks Styrling. Item It is accordyt that the said erle of the levenax sal be substitute and depute to the said erle of fyff of the Justiciarys of the Sherifdomes of Styrling & of dunbertane of als mykyll as pertenyis to the lordschip of the levenax als lang as the erle of fyff has na Justiciarys. Ande the saide erle of the levenax sall hafe thryde part of the profyt of all that the saide erle of fyf has and may hafe of the Justiciarys of the lordschipyis of the levenax forsaide. Item it is accordyt that the saidys erle of fyff & Sr. Murthow hys son sal be lele help-eris counsellars supponalers promoterys and

furtherars to the said erle of the levenax In all his accyonys causis & quarels hym tvyche and or many tvice as thar awne propyres causis for the tym of thar lyfs he lefande by thaim & thar consell & dyscrecyon of hys awn counsell. Item it Is accordyt that the saide erle of fyf sall mary ane of the dochttrys of the said erle of the levenax elysabeth or margarete at his awn costagez in convenable place but disparaging of hyr. And the saids erle of the levenax & Sr. Murthow sall mary the tother of his docht-ryrs at thar costagez. Item it is accordyt that the forsaid erle of fyf or Sr. Murthow his son sal mak to the ars male to be gottyn betvene the said Sr. Murthow and Issabell als mykyll land herytabbely as the said erle of the levenax has now in propyrte in demayn. The quhilk things abune wrytyn lelly to keip & to fulfyll withoute fraude or gyle the forsaid erlys and Sr. Murthow has sworne yar bodyly athys upon the haly evangell. And to ths indenturs has set enterchangyandly thar sel day zer & place befor sayd."

his family, he collected a band of retainers in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, and assisted by his father's chaplain, Finlay, Bishop of Argyll, attacked the burgh with a fury which nothing could resist. The town was sacked and burnt to the ground, and to add to the heinousness of the outrage, the King's uncle, Sir John Stewart of Dundonald, or the "Red Stewart," was slain in the fray. Young Albany and the Bishop made good their escape to Ireland, but five of their accomplices were seized, and for their double crime were subjected to the horrible torture of being torn in pieces by horses, after which their warm and quivering limbs were suspended upon gibbets, as a warning to those who thought that the obedience of a vassal to his lord was greater than his allegiance to a sovereign. With reference to Bishop Finlay, the King appears to have addressed a complaint to the Pope, who issued a mandate empowering the Bishops of St. Andrews and Dunblane to inquire into his conduct.

As it was not thought the King ever intended to proceed to extremities against any other than the house of Albany, it is difficult to account for the arrestment of so many, unless it was to overawe them into a submission in all things to his will and authority. This he appears to have accomplished. In the next Parliament held at Stirling in May several of those who were imprisoned as accomplices of Albany appear among the jury which then condemned him to death. The trial was presided over by the King in person, who seemed determined that no chance should be given to the jury of acquitting those whom he alleged had misgoverned the country and kept him eighteen years in captivity. Walter Stewart, the eldest son of the Duke of Albany, was the first brought to trial. He was charged with robbery,¹ a phrase which, in the absence of all documents relating to the proceedings, may be taken to mean the dilapidation of crown lands and the marauding expeditions he carried on

¹ Continuation of Fordun by Bower.

against some of his brother nobles. Being found guilty he was led out of the court and beheaded in front of the Castle. Next day the Duke of Albany, Alexander, his second son, and Earl Duncan, were tried, found guilty, and instantly executed at the same place.

The estates of Albany, in Fife and Menteith, were at once annexed to the crown. Lord Montgomery of Elliotston and Sir Humphrey Cunningham were, at the conclusion of the Stirling Parliament, sent on a mission to seize the lands in Dumbartonshire which belonged to his young son James, who ended his days in exile. In the case of the Earl of Lennox there was no forfeiture. On being released from Tantallan, the Countess Isabella retired to her seat in Inchmurren, Lochlomond, and though it does not appear that she ever obtained formal entry into the estates, she exercised during her lifetime the ordinary functions of a feudal superior.¹ In the lonely retreat of Inchmurren, amid the consolations of religion and the exercise of an extensive charity, the Countess Isabella spent the remainder of a life protracted long enough to allow her to hear the dreadful fate of that King who had cut her off from all living kindred. It was to her piety and munificence that Dumbarton stood indebted for its Collegiate Church, and among the last of her kind deeds was the gift of certain lands in Kilmaronock parish to the Preaching Friars of Glasgow to secure their prayers for the welfare of her soul and the souls of her dearest husband, her father, and her beloved sons.

¹ In 1440 or 1443, she granted a charter to Donald Patrick, of a tenement of houses and some land adjoining the churchyard of Drymen, for certain services, such as had formerly been furnished to the Earls of the Levenax. In 1444 she confirmed a grant of Ballgrochyr to Donald de Ballcorrach. In 1449 a precept of seisin issues from "Isabel, Duches of Albany and Countess of the Levenax, till Jon Lyndsay, Mare of the

Levenax, greeting," to infest Thomas Spreule in the lands of Dalchorne and Dalmuir. In 1450 she founded the collegiate church of Dumbarton, and granted various lands in the earldom for its support;—and in 1451, she mortified lands in the parish of Kilmaronock to the convent of the Black Friars of Glasgow, which grants are all dated at Inchmurren, the chief manor-place of the earldom.

[illegible]

Besides the Countess Isabella, Earl Duncan had two daughters—Elizabeth, married to John Stewart of Darnley, whose grandson assumed the title of Earl of Lennox; and Margaret, married to Robert Menteith of Rusky, with issue two daughters—Elizabeth, married to John Napier of Merchiston, and Agnes, married to Sir John Haldane of Gleneagles. Earl Duncan had also a son, Donald, through whom the family of Woodhead claim their descent, but he is now generally admitted to have been illegitimate.¹ The disputes as to the honours of the earldom fall more appropriately to be noticed in another chapter, but the preceding details may not be deemed out of place as exhibiting the descent prior to the division of the estate between the different claimants.

¹ In reference to the term "filio legitime" applied to this Donald in a charter of confirmation of Ballegrochy, Mr Riddell makes the following observations :—"In one of the Woodhead grants 'legitime,' and not 'legitimus' (the objective) is employed, which may possibly be the French word, 'legitimé,' borrowed, perhaps, like others, from our Gallican neighbours, and actually expressive, as in its noted application to the spurious offspring of Louis XIV., of the previous signification"—legitimated—not legitimate.—"Statement in reference to the Pretensions of the Family of Woodhead." Mr Napier, who has an equal interest in proving the illegitimacy of Donald, thus speaks of the term "laffwell," applied by Earl Duncan to

his "weil beluit sone" :—"Applied to a son who was not heir of the earldom, and who, in ordinary circumstances, was not recognized as having heirs except of his body, the qualifying term 'laffwell,' or 'legitime,' indicated his legalised state, and sanctioned the reference (in the charter) to his heirs and assignees."—"Partition of the Lennox," p. 34. But as if to place the illegitimacy of Donald beyond doubt, Mr Riddell, by researches in the Brisbane charter chest, was enabled to exhibit a charter of Earl Duncan's witnessed by "Malcolmo, Thoma, et Donald, filiis nostris naturalibus." This, as Mr Napier says, may be called the *coup de grace* to the case for Woodhead.

CHAPTER VI.

1437 TO 1542.

DUMBARTON CASTLE AGAIN ANNEXED TO THE CROWN—SEMPILL THE GOVERNOR SLAIN—DISPUTED SUCCESSION TO THE EARLDOM OF LENNOX—REBELLIOUS PROCEEDINGS OF JOHN, LORD DARNLEY—SIEGE OF THE CASTLE—SURRENDERS TO KING JAMES IV.—DUMBARTON MADE A NAVAL STATION—THE LENNOX MEN AT FLODDEN—THE CASTLE TAKEN BY SURPRISE—ARRIVAL OF JOHN, DUKE OF ALBANY—IMPRISONMENT OF THE EARL OF LENNOX—WESTERN TOUR OF JAMES V.—ARRIVES AT DUMBARTON—CALAMITOUS OVERTHROW OF THE SCOTTISH ARMY, AND DEATH OF THE KING—EXTRACTS FROM THE LORD TREASURER'S BOOKS.



URING the regency caused by the violent death of James I., the Castle of Dumbarton was held by the namesake of a former governor, Sir Robert Erskine ; but the Court party being desirous of making some change in the government of the fortress, they induced Sir Robert, in August 1440, to resign his charge on condition of being put in possession of the Castle of Kildrummie.¹ Three years afterwards serious disturbances took place in the Castle between Patrick Galbraith, a partizan of the house of Douglas, and Sir Robert Sempill, the deputy-governor and deputy-sheriff of the county. Some time prior to the 14th of July 1443, Galbraith became possessed of the fortress, but on that day Sempill compelled him to leave the place, and reinstated himself on the Rock. His triumph, however, was of brief duration. Next day Galbraith returned with an increased force, and not only secured possession of the fortress, but slew Sempill, and afterwards assumed the entire command. Powerful though Douglas was, he manifested considerable anxiety regarding the issue of such violence on the part of his

¹ Act Par., ii., 52.

supporters, and with well-feigned humility at once sought an interview with the young King, to put himself wholly in his power. James, whose hatred of his governors seemed to make him esteem their enemies, first gave the Earl a full remission, and afterwards admitted him into the most secret of his counsels.¹ In 1445 the Castle of Dumbarton, with the lands of Cardross, Rosneath, the annual rent of Cadyow, and the payment of dues known as the "Watch Meal of Kilpatrick," were formally annexed to the crown.²

On the death of the Countess Isabella, about 1460, several important events occurred in connection with the earldom, and the honours and possession thereto belonging. Though the Countess appears to have exercised the rights of a feudal superior during her lifetime, it is not clear that she obtained any formal entry into the estates as held by her father, Earl Duncan,³ and at her death the King took advantage of his casualty of non-entry, so far as to assign the revenue of the earldom for building the Castle of Stirling.⁴

As Earl Duncan had no heir-male of his own body, the succession, on the death of the Countess, opened up to heirs-general in terms of the marriage-contract of his eldest daughter. The heirs-general in this instance were Elizabeth and Agnes Menteith, co-heiresses of Sir Robert Menteith of Rusky, by Margaret, Earl Duncan's second daughter, and Elizabeth, Earl Duncan's youngest daughter. The latter was married to Sir John Stewart of Darnley; the first-mentioned Elizabeth to John Napier of Merchiston, and

¹ Pinkerton, "Hist. Scot.," vol. i. p. 197.

² "Caledonia," vol. iii. p. 875, referring to Act Par., ii., 42.

³ In a roll of Great Chamberlain accounts, 1455-56, a complaint appears against the Countess Isabella, "Et de relevio terrarum quarte partis de Glorate in qua hæres nondum intravit, licet litere sasine de eisdem de cancellaria emanaverint, vis viiid quarum

terrarum firmas antiqua comitissa de Lenax percipit, et de eisdem et non rex continuatur." On the margin "super quo consulendus est rex."—"Partition of Lennox," p. 16.

⁴ "Non onerat se de firmis conitatus de Levenax, of quod Dominos Rex assignavit dictas firmas ad fabricandum castrum de Strivelyne."—Chamberlain's Account, July 1459, to June 1460.

Agnes to John Haldane of Gleneagles. Claims upon the territory thus fell to be made in proportion to the position occupied by the heirs-general to Earl Duncan. Darnley set up a claim for half the possessions, while Elizabeth and Agnes sought to divide between them the half which would have fallen to their mother Margaret had she been alive. In making up their titles each of the claimants sought entry as heirs-general of Earl Duncan, a circumstance in itself sufficient to show that the estate was not forfeited by the execution of that nobleman.¹ The claimants met with little success in the first stage of their proceedings. The Chancellor, through whom they approached the King, was Andrew Stewart, one of the seven illegitimate sons of James Stewart of Albany, son of Duke Murdoch, and grandson of the deceased Duchess Isabella. In early life he appears to have resided with the Duchess on Inchmurren; but James II., touched probably with some regret for the fate of the house of Albany, interested himself in the career of the young Stewart, and about three years before the death of the Duchess created him Baron of Evandale. On the accession of James III. he was raised to the high office of Chancellor of the kingdom, and exercised almost supreme control in the councils of the youthful King.

Finding himself unable to reach the King through the Chancellor, Darnley addressed a petition direct to the monarch, praying to have "consuabill brieves, and tuiching the lands of half the earldom of the Levenax, of the quhilk as yet I can get ne expedicione nar outread, etc. And that ye mak, na ger mak, na stoping to me in the serving of thame, sua that I may be servit in alls far as offers. For the quhilk to be done to me, I proffir to hald a hunder spers, and a

¹ Hec inquisitio facta apud Dunbertane, 4 November 1473, etc., quod quondam Duncanus Comes de Levenax, proavus Elizabeth de Menteth, latricis presentium, obiit ultimo vestitus et sasitus ut de feodo ad pacem et

fidem Domini nostri Regis, de omnibus et singulis terris et annuis redditibus totius Comitatus de Levenax.—Retour of Elizabeth Men-teith—Merchiston Papers.

hunder bowis dewly bodin for a yere an myne awin expensis, in quhat part of this realm that ye will charge me in resisting of your rebills and enemys whatsumevir thai be."¹ Still the suit of Darnley and the other heirs-general was unsuccessful. The earldom remained in non-entry till 1471, when the Chancellor himself obtained a royal grant of a liferent possession of the whole fief, "to be as fully and freely enjoyed by him during the whole period of his life as the same was wont to be enjoyed by the Earls of Lennex themselves." This seems to have facilitated an arrangement with the different claimants. In 1473, Haldane of Gleneagles, obtained a charter of a portion of the earldom accruing to his wife Agnes Menteith; and in the same year, her sister Elizabeth was retoured to her share; each of them, however, recognizing the life-rent acquired by the Chancellor, who, in addition to the grant obtained letters of legitimation. Lord Darnley was dealt with in a similar way. He resigned his lordship proper into the King's hands, there to remain till his entry "to his part of the land of the earldom of the Levenax, and thereafter quhill be haif infest and giffen to our weill belovit cousing and chancelar Andro Lard Avindail, the said lands of the earldom of Levynax in liferent, as frely and in siclyke form as our foresaid chancelar had the samyn lands of us befor, and also quhill our cousying Wilzam of Edmonstoune of Duntreath² be made sickker be said John Lord Dernley for his part," upon which condition his majesty shall restore to Darnley all the lands held in security of the agreement. But the ambition of Darnley extended beyond the large share of the lands which naturally accrued to him. He aspired to the honours of the house of Lennox, as well as its possessions. By a process most irregular he obtained a brief of inquest ordaining that his claim should be determined upon by a jury, and succeeded in obtaining a verdict

¹ Woodhead Case, p. 67, quoted as from original in Montrose charter chest.

² Duntreath was married to the Chancellor's sister, Matilda Stewart.

serving him heir to Earl Duncan in the principal messuage as well as half the lands of the earldom. This verdict was followed on the 2nd October 1473, by a royal precept commanding the tenants of the Lennox to attend and obey Lord Darnley as Earl of Lennox, and under this title he took his seat at several meetings of the Scottish Parliament. In 1475, when Sir John Haldane returned to Scotland from Denmark, he complained to the King that the letters of protection granted on setting out on his mission had been disregarded in the course of the proceedings taken by Darnley, and that he ought to have been a party in any process affecting the division of the earldom or the appropriation of its honours. The King remitted the complaint to the lords of his council, who decided against Darnley, and placed the earldom in the position it was prior to his elevation to honours. Irritated, it may be, at the dishonour thus cast upon him, Darnley made common cause with the factious nobles, who, in 1482, seized the King at Lauder, and virtually kept him a prisoner for several weeks. In 1485 he was among those who attempted to compel his sovereign to abdicate in favour of his son Prince James; and three years later assisted to defeat the royal forces near Stirling. Even amid these turbulent proceedings, he never seems to have lost sight of that prize which had been for a short period within his grasp. He entered into contracts of excambion with the other heirs-general of Earl Duncan, in which (under an evident misunderstanding as to its nature) they were induced to recognize his title to the honours of the house, and in the first Parliament of James IV. (6th October 1488) Darnley, who, four months previously, had been known as "Dominus de Dernele," takes his seat as "Comes de Levenax." It does not appear that on this second assumption of the honours he obtained any formal investiture, or was, indeed, in any other position with reference thereto than in 1475, when denuded of them by the lords of his majesty's council.

Fully aware, no doubt, of the terms of that agreement, en-

tered into between Earl Duncan and the Earl of Fyfe—an agreement formally sanctioned by the succeeding charter of Robert III., Darnley seems to have founded his claim to the honours of the earldom upon his assumed position as the heir of line, though a superior title to these indivisible rights was possessed by one or other of the daughters of Earl Duncan's second daughter Margaret.¹ Prior to his second usurpation of the honours in 1488, Darnley appears to have taken efficient steps for quieting any opposition that might be offered by the representatives of Gleneagles or Merchiston. His title was tacitly acknowledged by the King and the Parliament, and within two years he obtained a royal charter acknowledging the right of his son Matthew, and his heirs, to the honours of the earldom of Lennox as well as the Renfrewshire lordship of Darnley.

Between 1490 and 1493 a division was concurred in of the lands of the earldom. The share accruing to Darnley may be taken as fairly set forth in the retour of 1680.² Merchiston obtained "Gertnes,

¹ It is still an unsettled point which of Margaret's daughters was the eldest—Elizabeth, married to John Napier of Merchiston, or Agnes, married to John Haldane of Gleneagles. The question was litigated in various shapes by their immediate successors, without any satisfactory result; and in our own day it gave rise to a sharp controversy between Mr. Riddell, who advocated the claim of the Gleneagles family, and Mr. Napier, who contended for the house of Merchiston. The reader is referred to their different volumes for the details of the controversy, which include much curious information connected with the Lennox. Another volume is also important in this respect: the "Case of Margaret Lennox of Woodhead, in relation to the title, honours, and dignity of the ancient Earl of Levenax," prepared by R. Hamilton. The object of this "case" is to

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show that the heirs-male descended of Earl Duncan; and the heirs of the marriage between his daughters and Murdoch, Duke of Albany, having failed, that right to the dignity necessarily opened to the heir whatsoever of that Earl, or more explicitly to the claimant, who, as descended from Donald, son of Earl Duncan by a second marriage, was unquestionably the true heir of line. The descent is clear enough; but it seems impossible to get over the fact of Donald's illegitimacy.

² RETOUR OF CHARLES II. TO THE DARNLEY PORTION OF THE LENNOX.

Retornatus terrarum et comitatus de Levenax.

CAROLUS SECUNDUS Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex, etc. haeres masculus et talliae Caroli Lennociae et

Dalnair, Blairour, Gartharnen, the twa Ballattis, the Dowchlass, Badmow, Eddinballo, Ballacharne, Tumdarach, with the half of the yill of Inchstavanohe and Castelgile," with "the halff-wod and all the proficitis of the samyn;" and, in addition, a tract of land adjacent to his share for the right of superiority yielded. The fourth accruing to Gleneagles, consisted of "Callemar, the Rossmakrath, Lurglorn, Kebedeyn, the half of Drummakill, the three Catyrs, Finwicktenant, Blarquhosh, Blarnyle, Shenaglass, Ladryshbeg and the twa Boturichis;" and, in addition, as a compensation for the claims of Gleneagles

Richmondia ducis, comitis de Darnlie March et Leitchfield, domini Torboltoune Methvenet Aubigney, atnepotis attavi, in ducatu comitatu dominio baronia et regalitate de Lennox, cum libera capella et cancellaria, comprehendentibus x libratas terrarum de Killmahew; liii solidatas iv denariatas terrarum de Blairchynnachra; lii solidatas et iv denariatas terrarum de Balimannoch; liii solidatas et iv denariatas terrarum de Geilstoune alias vocatas Ardardanes M'Aulay; viii libratas terrarum de Ardardanes Noble et Lyll; v libratas terrarum de Keppoch; v libratas terrarum de Cowgraine; vii libratas terrarum de Camseskaines; xl solidatas terrarum de Kirkmichaell Stirling; xl solidatas terrarum de Kirkmichaell Buchanane; xxvi solidatas et viii denariatas terrarum de Stuckleckie; viii libratas terrarum de Milligis; viii libratas terrarum de Ardingaples; iv mercatas terrarum de Laggarie; v libratas vi solidatas viii denariatas terrarum de Ardinchonnell; iv libratas terrarum de Letterowallbeg et Stuckiheich; v libratas vi solidatas viii denariatas terrarum de Blairvaddich et Stucknadow; iv libratas xiii solidatas iv denariatus terrarum de Ballernickmoir; v libratas vi solidatas viii denariatas terrarum de Letterowallmoir; v libratas

terrarum de Fauslaine; ix libratas terrarum de Garlochheid, Mamore, Mambeg et Forlincarie, cum piscatione salmonum aliorumque piscium in aqua et lacu de Garloch; vi libratas xiii solidatas et iv denariatas terrarum de Alterpittoune et Lettir; xl solidatas terrarum de Duarling; iii libratas vi solidatas viii denariatas terrarum de Stronrattine; v libratas vi solidatas viii denariatas terrarum de Fynnart, Porchappell et Forlinbreck; vi libratas xiii solidatas iv denariatas terrarum de Stuckidow, Auchenvennallmoir et Auchengach; iii libratas vi solidatas viii denariatus terrarum de Auchenvennallmouling; vi libratas terrarum de Thrie Kilbridis; v libratas terrarum de Bannachraes; iii libratas terrarum de Blainairne; xxxiii solidatas iv denariatas terrarum de Blairvairden; v mercatas terrarum de Meikle Drumfadd; ii mercatas terrarum de Little Drumfadd; v libratas terrarum de Darleith; v libratas terrarum de Auchindonnan Dennystoune; v libratas terrarum de Cameroun Dennystoune; x libratas terrarum de iii Tullichquhewines; viii libratas terrarum de Bonyle Lindsay; v libratas terrarum de Dalquhirn; xl libratas terrarum de Arroquhar; x libratas terrarum de Craigcrostan; i solidatas terrarum de Bonyle

upon the superiorities, "Trynbeg, Knockour, with the Fischarland, callit the Croft, Blairlosk, Ladrishmor, and twa Achinkerachis."¹

It is now necessary to revert to some of the more prominent occurrences in which Darnley was concerned. For a brief period after the accession of James IV., he was fortunate and quiet. In conjunction with his eldest son, Matthew Stewart, and Lord Lyle, there was committed to Darnley the entire government of Dumbartonshire, Renfrewshire, the lower ward of Clydesdale, and that part of Lennox lying in Stirlingshire, till the King should reach the age of twenty-one years. Nor was this all; the custody of Dumbarton Castle, which had been in the hands of Avondale from the death of Sir John Colquhoun in 1479, was also given to him, with

Noble alias Noblestone; x mercatas terrarum de Bonyle Naiper; v libratas terrarum de Balloch cum piscatione salmonum in aqua de Levin et lacu de Lochlomonnd, cum insulis de Inchmirrine, Inchvannoch et Crevinsh in Lochlomonnd, cum advocacione proposituræ et Prebendariorum ecclesiæ de Dunbartoune et aliarum ecclesiarum; officium vicecomitatus de Dunbartane; v libratas terrarum de Portnellan Galbraith; i solidatas terrarum de Portnellane Halliday; i solidatas terrarum de Ardoch Campbell; i solidatas terrarum de Finwickblair alias Finwickmalice; xl solidatas terrarum de Ballantoune; iv mercatas terrarum de Drumakill; v libratas terrarum de Letter Stryveling; i solidatas terrarum de Gartforrane; xxv libratas terrarum de Drumquhassil, Bowquhinning, Blairfadd, Ladinrew, Craigievairne, Balarnane, Eister Mugdock, Meikle Blairquhoise et Midlemboig; xx mercatas terrarum de Finoick Drumond, Cashleyes, Offrings et Gartinstarie; v. mercatas terrarum de Callingadis; v libratas terrarum de Blarinvadies, cum insulis de

Inchmoin et Blaron in lacu de Lochlomonnd; xx mercatas terrarum de Renroyes, Asquemoir, Drumveans et Drumquhairnes; v. libratas terrarum de Auchentroig; x mercatas terrarum de Enboigs alias Glenboigs Cunynghame et M'Ewin; v mercatas terrarum de Gartchell; v libratas terrarum de Blairnshogle; v libratas terrarum de Ballinkirra; xv libratas terrarum de Kilcreuch et Dallingonnachane; v libratas terrarum de Balzeoun alias Balewins Buchanan et Lennox; xx mercatas terrarum de Balvey Fergustoune, Gartconnell, Ledcamroch, Bannochtoune, Camron, Camquhill et Balquhinnings Loganes; xii libratas terrarum de Maynes, Little Balvey, Ledcamroch, Camron, Camquhill, Balquhinning, et Harleheavin Douglos; xx libratas terrarum de Drumry; v libratas terrarum de Dalmuire; v libratas terrarum de Kilmardinny; xl solidatas terrarum de Ballagan; infra vicecomitatus de Dumbarton et Stirling respective, etc.—vi Jul. M.DC.LXXX.

¹ Introduction to Cart. de Lev., referring to Montrose and Napier papers.

all the revenues attached thereto.¹ As these gifts indicate at once the munificence of the young King and the loyalty of Lord Darnley, it is difficult to account for the treasonable proceedings in which the latter was soon after engaged. Even before the close of 1488, he appears to have taken steps to overthrow the existing government; but due submission having been made, a sentence of forfeiture issued against him, Matthew Stewart his son, and Lord Lyle, was formally rescinded by the Parliament which met in February 1489. The adherents of the King had soon reason to repent of their haste in this matter, for in a few weeks Darnley was again engaged in a revolt which it required all the power of the Government to subdue. On the 26th of April, as appears from the Treasurer's books, messengers were despatched to the Bishop of St. Andrews, Brechin, and Dunblane, and the Abbots of Arbroath, Dunfermline, Lindores, and Scoon, to cause them to come to Dumbarton. On the 4th of July the Parliament made an order for besieging the Castle of Dumbarton, which had been fortified by him against the King, and also his Castle of Cruikstown, and Lord Lyle's Castle of Duchall.² The militia having been called out,³ and a large supply of artillery gathered together, the King left Glasgow on the 19th of July to lay siege to Duchall and Cruikstown.⁴ After a siege of seven days Duchall surrendered to the King's forces on the 27th of July; but regarding Cruikstown, the result does not appear to have been so satisfactory. To the Chancellor, the Earl of Argyll, was entrusted

¹ Act Par., vol ii. p. 208.

² Act Par. ii. p. 214.

³ 1487 July 10.—Item, To James Thomson
to passe in Tweddall
to warn the country of
the siege of Dum-
bartounne, iiij sh. vj. d.

1489, July 10.—Item, To Peter Kerr to
pass to the east
pairt of Lowthene
with letters for the
samen,..... iiij sh.

⁴ Treasurer's Accounts, July 1489.

the difficult task of attacking Dumbarton Castle.¹ But so well was this fortress defended, that it not only resisted all the attacks of Argyll, but during the progress of the siege the garrison found time and opportunity to make a sally into the town and committed a great portion of it to the flames. On the surrender of Duchall and Cruikstown, the King repaired to Dumbarton, and issued commands to different noblemen to repair to him at that place.² But Darnley's party still held out, and the Chancellor was ultimately compelled to raise the siege.

This seems to have still more emboldened the Darnley or Lennox party. In a letter to Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk, dated at Stirling the 22d of September, the King says, "Farsamekle as we suppos ye know the grete tressoun and usurpation made agains us and owre autorite be Wilyame Erle Marchall, Alexander, Master of Huntly, and Alexander Lord Forbess, and thair complices, in the making of certane ligs and bands at owr Castell of Dumbertane, etc.;" and the King enjoins him "surely and sikkely ger observe and kepe your howsys and strenthis to your behuf and owrs and ye sall repart singler thank and rewarde of us therfore and be mantenynt be us as our thankfull and trew liege."³ Whether any formal league was entered into in Dumbarton or not it is now impossible to say, but it is more than likely such was the case, as the rebellion soon assumed an almost national magnitude, and drew together all who had enmity against the advisers of the young King. Lennox having

¹ Tytler appears to think that the huge piece or ordnance, Mons Meg, was used against Dumbarton Castle on this occasion. It was certainly conveyed from Edinburgh, for under the date, July 10, the Treasurer enters, "Item to the gunners for drink silver quhen thai cartit monss, viij sh.;" but the route taken from Kirkintilloch rather indicates that it was used against some place on

the south side of the Clyde, probably Duchall—"Aug. 4, Item to Carcar and ane ither gunner to pass furth of Lythgow to Kirkytoloch to help them with the gunnis, ij lib."

² Aug. 9, Item to the clerk for the writing fifty letters,.....ij lib. xiiij sh.

³ Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 83.

gathered together a considerable force in Dumbartonshire, set out to join some of his northern confederates, but finding that the King's troops had possession of Stirling, he turned to the west, and, intending to cross the Forth by a ford higher up, encamped for the night at a place called Gartlunan, near Tilly Moss, about the south end of what is now the parish of Aberfoyle. Owing to the treachery of one of Lennox's followers, Drummond of Cargill received notice that the rebels considered themselves so secure as to dispense with all precaution against a surprise. Accompanied by the King,¹ Drummond proceeded with a few volunteers to the spot occupied by the unsuspecting followers of Lennox, of whom so many were slain that resistance by those spared could not have been of any avail even if attempted. The captives (says Pinkerton) were taken with indifference and dismissed with contempt, except a few tumultuous spirits, who were distinguished by punishment. Among those executed for their share in the rebellion, was Galbraith of Culcreuch, chief of the Galbraiths, whose lands afterwards passed to Adam Hepburn, brother to the Earl of Bothwell.² A week after this rout the Castle of Dumbarton, which was held by the sons of Lennox, was besieged by the King in person, accompanied by Argyll, the chancellor, Home, the chamberlain, Bothwell, the master of the

¹ The presence of the King at Tilly or Talla Moss, and the exact date of the attack, are established by entries in the Treasurer's books :—

1489, Oct. 11.—Item, To the king the same day he raid to the field furth of Dumblane,.....x angells.
 „ „ „ To the [gunners] the same day to pass to Strivelin to get culverins to bring to the field,.....iv lib. xvj sh.

1489, Oct. 12.—Item, To the king to offir quhen he came fra the field of Gartlunnan, at the kirk of Kippane,.....xxiv sh.
 [Gartalunan still retains the name; Talla is unknown, but may be identified with the marshy ground west of Inchmahone.]

² Reg. Mag. Sig. xii., 154.

household, Sir William Knolls, the treasurer, the Prior of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway, Lord Oliphant, and others—all of whom had men engaged at the siege, and for whom they received pay from the royal treasurer. After a siege of six weeks the fortress surrendered, but on the most favourable terms, as Lennox, his sons, and Lord Lyle, obtained a full pardon for holding the Castle against the King, for burning Dumbarton, and for all their other rebellious proceedings.¹

¹ The King appears to have been in and about Dumbarton from the 18th Oct. to the 13th Dec. :—

1489, Oct. 18.—Item, Quhen the king raid to siege Dumbartane.
 „ „ 22. „ In Glasgow to the king,xviiij sh.
 „ „ „ To the carriage men to pass to Edenbrucht for powder to Dunglas.
 „ „ „ To thre boytis that brocht the gun called Duchal fra Arthill to Dunglas,vj sh.
 „ Nov. 12. „ For a dizzen of aris to the bot that suld have gane to Dumbartane.....xxxiiij sh.
 „ „ 20. „ To the Ormond Herauld to passe in Fyf and Angusse, to the carriage men for the wages at Dunglass,xx sh.
 „ „ „ To Schaw the courier to pass fra the south syde the wattir for the same,—
 „ „ 23. „ Quhen the king raid to Lythgow to Dumbartane, given him,xiiij sh.

1489, Nov. 24.—Item, Given to the king in Dumbartane, xxiiij lib.

„ Dec. 3. „ The Chancelor for se-
 ventein dayes wages
 in Dumbartane for
 twenty-four men,
x lib. viij sh.

„ „ „ To the Laird of Laucht
 [Luss] for a ship bocht
 fra him to the king's
 use.

[In the instructions by Edward IV. of England, to his ambassador in Scotland, mention is made of a ship belonging to the Laird of Luss, taken by Lord Gray. It was enacted by James I. that all barons and lords having lands and lordships near the sea, on the west parts, and especially against the Isles, should have galleys, and maintain them according to their ancient tenor.]

Soon after the surrender of the Castle, King James took steps to make Dumbarton one of the west coast stations for the navy which he was then sedulously employed in gathering together.¹ A ship purchased from the Laird of Laucht, was repaired, equipped, and victualled in Dumbarton, and he caused be there built several "row barges" which kept a number of men employed for seven months. It was from this port he sailed in July 1494, and again in May following, on his expeditions for quieting the Western Isles.²

1489, Dec. 13.—Item, In Lythgow, to the king quhen he came fra Dunbartane, xxiv lib.

In 1490 the King, then at Paisley Abbey, caused letters to be expedie under the privy seal commanding John, Earl of Lennox, and Matthew, his son, to make proclamation at the Market Cross of Renfrew of his Majesty's displeasure with the community and burgeses of that burgh, for having, under silence of night, gone to Paisley and destroyed the wooden work of the new Market Cross set up three years since, when the King was pleased to erect Paisley into a free burgh of barony.

¹ In the early part of the following year one of his vessels seems to have been pursued by the English:—

1489-90, Feb. 18.—Item, After the kingis ships was chaysit in Dunbartane be the Englishmen, and tynt hir cabillis and other grayth sent with John of Haw,xviiij lib.

² These occurrences are thus illustrated by the Treasurer's Books:—

1494 (no date).—Item, To the byggin of the king's rowbarges bygite in Dunbartane,

the tymmyre fra Loch Lowmond and divers uthir woddis,.....—

1494, July 5.—Item, For the cariage of ane barrel of gunpowder fra Edenbrucht to Dunbartane,.....x sh.

„ Aug. 24. „ To Robert Noble, in Dunbartane, be ane precept of the king, lib.

1494-5, Mar. 17. „ For the tursing of the king's litle camp bed for the sey to Dunbartane, againe the passing to the lles, xv sh.

„ „ „ For ane boit to carry guns to Dunbartane, and carrying of them,xx sh.

The king's well known taste for poetry and music are also curiously illustrated on the occasion of the above visit.—

1494-5, Mar. 19.—Item, To the man that playit to the king on the clarscha (or harp), be the king's command,.....xiiij sh.

„ „ „ To the pyper of Dunbartane be the king's command,.....xiiij sh.

Indeed, in the first Parliament he held (October 1488), King James evinced the regard he had for Dumbarton and some other burghs, by passing an Act in which it was "statute and ordenit that in time to cum all manner of schippis, strangers, and uthers cum to the king's free burrowes, sic as Dumbartane, Irvine, Wigtoun, Kirkcudbright, Renfrew, and utheris free burrowes of the realm, and thair mak their merchandise. And that the saidis strangers bye nae fish, bot salted and barrelled, nor bye nane uther merchandise, but at free burrowes, and thair pay their dewties and customes, and tak their cocquet as efeieris. And that they mak nae merchandise at Lowes nor uther places, but at free burrowes, as said is. And that nane of our Soveraine Lordis lieges take schippis to fraucht, under colour to defraud our Soveraine Lord nor his lieges, under the paine of tinsel of their lives and gudes; and that nae strangers do in the contrair, under the paine of tinsel and confiscation of their schip and gudes to our Soveraine Lordis use." For the purpose of repressing "theft, reif, and uther enormities" in the western counties, it was about the same time enacted that Commissioners should be appointed to act as judges within certain limits, the Lord of Montgomery being appointed for "Dumbertane, the Lenneax, Bute, and Arran."¹ In the fourth Parliament, held in June 1493, it was "statute and ordenit anent the greate innumerable riches that is tinte in fault of schippis and busches (boats), that such be forthwith made in all burrowes and tounes within the realm, the least of them being of twentie tun; and that the officiaries of sic burrowes mak all the stark idle men within their boundis to pass with the said schippis for their wages; and gif the said idle men refuses to pass that they be banishit the burrow."²

The connection subsisting between James IV. and the burgesses of Dumbarton seems to have been of the most intimate nature.

¹ Act Scot. Par. 1st, James IV., ch. 3.

² Act Scot. Par. 4th, James IV., ch. 49.

Hardly a year elapsed without his appearing among them, either as a resident in the Castle or as the guest of some of the neighbouring nobles, while he almost invariably made the port the rendezvous for the different expeditions fitted out with the view of quieting his rebellious subjects in the Isles. By the aid of his carefully kept Household Book he may be seen watching his naval musters in the Leven, and afterwards amusing himself at the "battis" or the "cartis;" now hunting in the woods during the day, and then listening to the "evin-sang" at night in the chapel. Almost every item suggests a path of inquiry which the student of local or even national history may follow up with advantage, but need not be enlarged upon in this work.¹

1496, May.—Item,	To the man that gydit the king to Drum-myn,..... viij d.	1504, April 15.—Item,	To — portingar, to fe him ane horse to Dunbartane with the king,.....xivsh.
1497, April 24. „	Giffen to ane cheild that brocht apills to the king fra the Provost of Dunbartane,.....ix sh.	„ „ „	To the Franche smith to fe him ane horse with the king,xiv sh.
1498, May 9. „	To the king at the battis in Dunbartane that he tynt,...xxxvjsh.	„ „ 17 „	To John Forman, of the wardrob to pass fra Dunbartane to Strivelin, for the king's gere,.....14 sh.
„ „ „	For the twa boyis cartis in Dunbartane that kepit the ship in Dunbartane sen the king cam first furth of Kintyre quhill he passit againe, quhillk was in Maij, xlij sh.	„ „ „	Ane bard wyf in Dunbartane, xvi d.
1501, July 2. „	To the Provest of Bothwell that he gaef to the wif in Kirkintulloch, quhar the king drank, iij sh.	„ „ „	The botemen in Dunbartane that had the king on burd divers tymes on the ship-pes, ix sh.
1504, April 15. „	To Robert Stewart, gunner, to pass with the king to Dunbartane, xxviiij sh.	„ „ 18. „	In Dunbartane, to Martin the Frenchman for x tun of wyne to the schippis vittaling in the Isles, ilk tun,.....lxx lib.

In reference to the disturbances in Argyllshire and the Isles, before noticed, it was, in 1503, enacted that "the inhabitants of that part of Couall whilk is not within the boundis of Argyll sall underlie the law at the Justiceaires held in Dunbarten," the disturbed condition of Argyllshire being clearly indicated by a clause in the statute, which enacts that the inhabitants of that county shall underlie the law at Perth "quhair ever-ilk Hielandman and Lawlendman may cum and aske justice without peril or danger."

By another Act, passed in the Parliament of 1503, it was ordained "that the landes of Buchquhanane, Fyntries, Campsy,

1504, May 18.—Item, In Dunbartane, to Sir Andro Wode, that he laid doune for vj tun of wyne maire to the vittales of the schippis for the Isles, xliij lib.	1504, May 18.—Item, To the boats that had the king and his folkis on burd to see the schippis, and furth againe, vj sh. ij d.
[In 1483 this celebrated commander obtained a grant of the lands of Largo, in Fyfe, for his services by sea and land against the English, and in a confirmation of the grant, fourteen years afterwards, it is mentioned that his most eminent service was the defence of Dumbarton when the English Navy laid siege to it in 1481.]	" " " To Waghorne, wricht, for helping him wyth the mast of the schip,—
" " " Payit to Robert Makfarlane for having of the king's mast doune fra Drimane, ...xxiv sh. iv d.	" " " To the pyper of Dunbartane,xiv sh.
	1504-5. To John Smolet, burges of Dunbartane, for vittalling of the king's schip in the Ilis, beginnand the xiiij day of August, to Sanct John's day in Yule, remanand on the Ilis, qlk is xix owks, for the mariners' hire, and ane cabill to the said schip, and pairt of cabill, be his compt, jclxix lib. xij sh.
	1505, May 1. " To ane man to pass with writings fra Strivelin to the Alderman of Dunbartane, ...iij sh.

Strablane, Buthrane, Drymane, and Inchcalisch," should be as attached to the sherifffdom of Dumbarton, and that their inhabitants should appear at the "feif courts of justice" there.

The partiality evinced by the King for his west country subjects

1505, May 5.—Item, To Robert Herwart, to pass to Dunbartane to see the artillery there. . . . again, the passage to the lles,.....xxviiij sh.
 " " 29. " To ane boy to pass to Dunbartane with letter to charge the ships not to ferrie the Maister of Montgomerie,.....ij sh.
 " June 5. " In Dunbartane, to the Ffrench quhissilar, by the king's command,.....xiiij sh.
 " " 8. " To the king, to play at the cartis in Dunbartanewyth John Murray and Maister Robert Cockburne, iij lib. x sh.
 " " " That samen nicht, to the evin sang in the kirk to the king himsel in ane purse,....xiv sh.
 " " 10. " To the priests of the collec of Dunbartane,.....xx sh.
 " " 12. " To the priest of the parish kirk of Dunbartane, xx sh.
 " July 1. " To Schir Johne Ramsay, that he laid doune in Dunbartane to the schip wark and riggin of the schip callit Columb,....xxxiiij lib. ix sh.

1505, July 1.—*Continued.*

[This is elsewhere called the "small ship," and is obviously named after the discoverer of America, then alive.]

1505, July 12.—Item, For ane to have the keil of the schip in Dunbartane fra Striveline to Cardrosse, xxviiij sh.
 " " 23. " To the Proveist of Dunbartane to the schip wark, x lib.
 " " " To the king himself quhen he assisted at Dunbartane, xxiiij lib.
 " " " That day, to ane man that brocht peirs to the king,.....iiij sh.
 " Aug. 22. " To ane man to pass and get the king's bede fra the hunthill to Dunbartane, xiv d.
 " " " To ane man that brocht in eggs to the king,.....ix sh.
 " Dec. 8. " To bynding of Wallass' sword (quoted, p. 76.)
 1506, June 24. " Midsomer day, in lirlithgu., to Johne Smolet, burges of Dunbartane, to pas in the lles with the schip, and to meit William brownhill's schip,.....i lib.

was not without its influence in the hour of his last need. At Flodden the right wing of the Scottish army was not only led by western noblemen—Matthew, Earl of Lennox, who had succeeded his father John, in 1494; and Archibald, Earl of Argyll—but the

1506, June 24.—Item,	To Andrew Bartoun,	1506-7, Mar. 17.—Item,	Payit John Smollet for
	be the kingis com-		cordage,...jc lib. vj sh.
	mand, to mak hering	" " 27. "	To the Comptroller,
	to send to France for		that he gave to ane
	wyne, and to furneiss		man to pass to Schir
	the schip biggit in		Duncan Campbell for
	Dunbertane to Bur-		carrying of the king's
	deauss,		masts to Dunbar-
	jcvi lib. xij sh. iv d.		tane, vi sh.
" Aug. 13. "	In Dunbartane, to	" " "	To ane man that past
	Schir Andrew Mak-		to the laird of Buquhan-
	brek to dispoine, xlii sh.		nan for planks, iv sh.
" " "	To the maister wricht	" " "	To ane man to pass
	and warkmen in Inch-		to Martin Lenalt for
	mirane...iiij lib. iiij sh.		roset and nails to the
" " "	To the man that rowed		schip in Dumbart-
	the king over the		tane, xvij sh.
	water, iij sh.	" " "	To the maister wricht
" " "	To the nuris there xiv sh.		in Dunbartane to
" " "	To the man that rowed		drink silver, ... xli sh.
	the king fra Inch-	" " "	To the lave of the wark-
	mirane to Dunbar-		men at the schip in
	tane, vij sh.		Dunbartane, ... xxiv sh.
" Oct. 22. "	To the priests in Dun-	" " "	To the men that rowit
	bartane, x sh.		the king fra the Castell
" Dec. 12. "	In Cummernauld, to		and againe, ix sh.
	Lord Fleming's tam-	" July 1. "	The king and queene
	bourer, xiiij d.		tuik ship to Quhith-
1506-7, Feb. 9. "	In Dunbartane, to ane		erne.
	priest for his yaird	" " 24. "	To the priests in Dun-
	where the schip was		bartane, xx sh.
	biggit, x sh.	" " "	To Lord Averdail,
" " "	That nicht, to the king		he laid down to men
	at the cartis, ... xij sh.		that brocht straw-
" " "	That nicht, in Cragber-		berries and uther
	nard, to the king to play		berries to the king and
	at the cartis, xxiij sh.		quene, xiiij sh.

men under their command were raised almost entirely in the western counties ; and ardently, though unsuccessfully, did they contend with the English billmen. Exasperated at the havoc made in their ranks by the distant archers, and at no time very amenable to discipline, they pressed eagerly forward for a hand-to-hand fight, without thinking of the mischief that was certain to arise from breaking up

1506-7, July 23.—Item, To the ferryaris of Dunbartane that had the king over the water,.....xiiij sh.	1506-7, Sept. 1.—Item, For Rutherford, to pass to summond the Laird of Buquhannan for the lands of Loch Kethren, ix sh.
„ Feb. 16. „ To Makcaule's man in bridal silver of ane horss,.....xiiij sh.	„ „ 27. „ To ane man of Makcaule's that brocht twa houndis to the king, xiiij sh.
„ Aug. 10. „ To the king's belcheir quhair he dynit at Balloch,.....x sh.	[The Treasurer's books, from August 1508 to 1511, are amissing.]
„ „ „ That nycht to the king to play at the cartis, in quhit silver, xvj sh.	1511, Jan. 8. „ To William Strivelin for carriage of leid out of Dunbartane to Edinburgh,....iij lib. xij sh.
[As we find the king in Glasgow on the 11th, this was probably at Balloch. The Earl of Lennox is elsewhere mentioned as one to whom the king had lost money at cards.]	„ March 22. „ In Dunbartane, to the maister of the Ffrench schip for freight and hyre to turss de la Moite, and John Balzard, and thair servandis, to France, xij lib. xvj sh.
„ Sept. 1. „ In Inchcalloun, to ane clarscha, xiiij sh.	1512, April 28. „ To Gray Finour, to follow the king to Dunbartane to fyn leid [in Islay],.....xij sh.
[This was probably Inchcallinish, as next day there is an allowance of 6 lib. 13s. 4d. to M'Gregor's men for corn eaten during two nights.]	1513, May 31. „ For ane Ffranche sadill wyth the harnessing, to la Mote, quhen he past to Dunbartane,.....xxxij sh.
	„ June 1. „ La Mote's expensis to Dunbartane,...viiij lib.

their ranks. It was to little purpose (says Tytler) that La Motte and the French officers who were with him, attempted by entreaties and blows to restrain them. They neither understood their language, nor cared for their violence, but threw themselves, sword in hand, upon the English pikemen. But the well-marshalled squares stood their ground, and although for a moment the shock of the mountaineers was terrible, its force, once sustained, became spent with its own violence, and nothing remained but a disorganization so complete that to recover their ranks was impossible. The consequence was a total route of the right wing of the Scots, accompanied by a dreadful slaughter, in which, among other brave men, the Earls of Lennox and Argyll were slain.¹

The death of James IV. at Flodden opened up a new chapter of turmoil and bloodshed in the history of Scotland. From a feeling of affectionate regard for the late King, the regency was, contrary to the practice followed on former occasions, committed to the Queen-mother; but as this was a step not unattended with danger to the interests of the country, a secret message was despatched to the Duke of Albany in France, requesting him to repair to Scotland and assume the office of Regent, which of right belonged to his rank. An imprudent marriage which the Queen-mother contracted with the young Earl of Angus, had the effect of making more marked than before the hostile feeling of the people towards her measures. The Earl of Arran, encouraged in his designs by an unavoidable delay which took place in the arrival of Albany, sought to instal himself into the office of Regent, and found powerful adherents in the person of John, the successor of Matthew in the Earldom of Lennox, and the Earl of Glencairn. During a tempestuous night in January 1514, these noblemen gained access to Dumbarton Castle, and turned out the governor, Lord Erskine, who held it for the

¹ Tytler, vol. v. p. 65.

Queen's party.¹ The words of Bishop Lesly are,—“Every ane pressand to tak sic possessione as they mycht obtaine, principallie of that was lyand nearest unto thame; and thairfore the Erle of Levenox and Maister of Glencairn, in ane mirk, wyndy nycht, the xij day of Januar, under myndit the neddir sole of the yett of Dumbartane, and enterit thairat, and tuik the castell, and putt furth the Lord Erskine, then capitane thairof.” Though the fortress continued in possession of the captors, the designs of Arran were frustrated by the arrival of Albany at Dumbarton—an event thus noticed by one who appears to have been an early if not a contemporary chronicler:—“In 1515, at the Witsonday, John, Duke of Albanie, came into Scotland, and landit at Dunbartane, and thair wes ressaueit with greit honour, and convayit to Edinburgh with ane greit cumpany, with greit blythnes and glore, and thair wes constitute and maid governour of this realme; and sune thairafter he held ane parliament, and ressaueit the homage of the lordis and thre estattis; quhair thair wes many thingis done for the weill of this countrey.”²

The ships which accompanied Albany to this country—eight in number, and all well supplied with warlike stores—appear to have remained in the harbour of Dumbarton at least till the 21st of November following, as there is in the books of the King's Treasurer a statement of the expenses incurred on their account till that period

¹The important office of keeper of Dumbarton Castle appears to have been held at this time, not by the Earls of Lennox, but by men of humbler position, and who, it may be supposed, were less likely to use for their own ends, the power placed in their hands. On the 26th of October 1497, John Strevling, son of John Strevling of Craighernard, and steward to the King, obtained a grant of the keeping of Dumbarton Castle for nineteen years, with all the revenues, as

possessed by Robert Lundie, the preceding keeper, and on the 6th June 1511, the above Robert, Lord Erskine, had a similar grant.

²“*Diurnal of Occurrents*.” Printed for the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs. For an inquiry into the authenticity of this work (which we shall have frequently occasion to quote), see Appendix to Tytler, vol. v., letter A. Malcolm Laing thinks the original M.S. was greatly altered by Crawford of Drumsoy.

by James Stewart, brother to the Laird of Ardgowan, who was "keeper of the ships."¹

The active regency of Albany proved anything but acceptable to the powerful, jealous, and, it may be added, selfish nobles, whose disputes at once disturbed and weakened the country. The Earl of Lennox having travelled beyond the bounds of his own district, was seized and thrown into Edinburgh Castle till he would deliver up Dumbarton. This he did to Allan Stewart, and was afterwards set at liberty. When Albany finally sailed from Dumbarton for France in 1524, James V., then thirteen years of age, was formally invested with supreme authority. The real governing power of the country, however, was centred in a party consisting of the Queen-mother, and the Earls of Arran, Lennox, and Morton; but mutual jealousy frustrated their best designed schemes, and for several years the country suffered all the evils resulting from a weak and divided executive. In 1526, the Earl of Lennox and his party having fortified Dumbarton,² and such other strongholds as they could secure, determined

¹ 1515, July 26.—Item, Deliverit to James Stewart, brother-germane to the Laird of Ardgowane, to pay the masters and mariners of the king's schipis, being in Dunbartane, for the month of Junj., at the Lord Governouris command. Imprimis, to tua maisters of the James and Margaret, for the moneth of Junj., ilk ane of them sex pundis qulk amounts to xij lib.

1515, Sept. 20.—Item, Deliverit to the said James Stewart, to hyre warkmen for to mak dokkis in the watter of Dunbartane for the keeping of the forsaid tua schippis, . . . xl lib.

² In the Privy Seal Register, of date June 11, 1526, there is a "respitt to Sir John Colquhon of Luce, Patrick Colquhon, John Logon of Baluey, Walter and Robert, his sons, George Buchquhanan of that Ilk," and about thirty others, for "their tressonable asseging, taking, and withaliding of our soueraine lordis Castle of Dunbartane." On July 16, Glencairn and others obtained a "respitt."

to rescue the King from the thralldom in which he was held by the powerful house of Douglas. He assembled an army of nearly 10,000 men, and on the river Avon, near Linlithgow, encountered the royal forces, nominally led by the King, but in reality by his governor, the Earl of Angus. As the intention of Lennox was to secure the capital or die in the attempt, his troops, composed of a motley array of borderers from the west and middle marches, attacked the force of Angus with great spirit, but in attempting to secure a difficult ford on the river, they were thrown into disorder, and finally routed with great slaughter. Among the slain was Lennox himself; and it is affirmed, on what seems good authority, that he was killed, not during the engagement, but after he had surrendered, by Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, a natural son of the Earl of Arran. Arran himself is recorded to have been seen standing over the body, lamenting that the wisest, stoutest, hardiest man that ever was born in Scotland, had been slain that day. Nine months after the battle, the above Hamilton received through the influence of Angus, the custody of Dumbarton Castle, his deputy, William Stirling of Glorat, obtaining about the same time a grant allowing him and his successors in office liberty to build and hold a mill on the lands of Murroch, which pertained to the castle.¹ In 1531, the fortress again

¹ This Stirling was murdered in 1535 by a member of the family of Galbraith, which about this time possessed considerable influence in Dumbartonshire. Proceedings having been taken against the parties implicated, there is the following entry regarding the case in the Books of Adjournal of the High Court of Justiciary:—"July 20 (1535) —Patrick Colquhoun, and Adam Colquhoun, sons of Sir John Colquhoun of Lus, knight, and twenty-five other (among whom were Andrew Cunynhame of Drumquhassil and William Cunynhame of Fenyk) found surety

to underly the law at the next Justice-aire of Dumbarton, for resetting, supplying, intercommuning, and assisting Humphrey Galbrayth and his accomplices, rebels, and at the horn, for the cruel slaughter of William Striveling of Glorat. Donald Macdow and six others were denounced rebels; Sir John Colquhoun of Lus and Donald Macmanys were proved to be sick; while Humphrey Colquhoun, parish clerk of Lus, Adam Colquhoune, pensioner of Lus, and David Colquhoune, clerk, were replegiated by the Archbishop of Glasgow."—Pitcairn's "Cri-

changed hands, Sir James Hamilton being induced, at the entreaty of the King, who had a lingering respect for the house of Lennox, to resign it into the hands of Matthew, the new earl.

For the purpose of maintaining his influence in the Western Isles, James took frequent opportunities of corresponding with and visiting the different chiefs. In 1531, and again in 1535,¹ he set out

minimal Trials, vol. i. p. 170. As there is no record extant of the proceedings at the Dumbarton justice-aires of this date, it is impossible to tell whether the parties above mentioned were ever summoned to compare there, or how their alleged offence was dealt with, if they did so compare. Walter Stirling of Glorat was slain in 1546, four members of the house of Sempill finding caution to underlie the law at Dumbarton for being art and part therein. The same remark applies to the following entry in the Books of Adjournal regarding the waylaying of Lady Colquhoun of Luss:—"16th August 1536,—Walter Macfarlane found John Napier of Kilmahew, and John Buntyn of Ardoch, as cautioners for his entry at the next justice-aire of Dumbertane, to underlie the law for airt and pairt of convocation of the lieges in great numbers, in warlike manner; and besetting the way to Margaret Cunynhame, relict of umquhile Sir John Colquhoun of Lus, knight, and David Farnley of Colmis-toune, being for the time in her company, for their slaughter, and for other crimes."—Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 178.

¹ Regarding the expenses incurred on the occasion of these visits, minute information is given in the books of the Lord High Treasurer:—Thus, under date September 3, 1525, there is the following relating to "the expensis maid vpon the schip and marinaris feis sene sche came to Dumbertane: item, in primis, to xij marinaris that was send

hame fra the schip be the space of thre oulkis wagis fra the third of September 1534, xvij li. Item, payt in Glasgow to xij men quhilk was left wyth the schip to bring the king out of Argile, for ane monthis wagis, begynnand the said third day of September, xxxij li. Item, far ane pype of irne to be the botis ruder, xxjd." The account, of which these are the first entries, extends over five folios, and amounts to 502 li 13s. 11½d. The payments are principally for wages, victuals, timber, cables. 1540.—Gevin to William Stratherne, messenger, the vj day of Junij., to pass to Dunbartane, Irving, and Air, with lettirs to charge them to send bottis and schippis with victualis to meit the kingis grace to the lles the vj day of July nixtocum, iij lib. vj d. During the absence of the King on the above tour, John Johnstone of that ilk had been committed to Dumbarton Castle, and, on March 13, found caution that he would not remove beyond the bounds of the town under the pain of 10,000 merks. Two days afterwards, John Hume, Laird of Plackadder, also found surety that he would remain within the bounds of the Burgh of Dumbarton, under pain of an equally large fine. According to the Diurnal:—"Vpoun the xij day of October, 1538, Mr. Adame Ottirburne was commandit in waird to Dumbertane," for the offence, as we learn from another record, of failing to attend the army of Solway. He was released on February 16, 1539.

with large retinues for these parts, and in 1450, when he might be said to be as free from the machinations of his factious nobles as at any period of his reign, he undertook another expedition for the purpose of repressing the disturbance which had broken out between Donald Gorme of Sleat and Mackenzie of Kintail. The fleet, consisting of twelve vessels, left the Forth about the end of May, and proceeded towards Orkney, Skye, Trouterness, and Kintail. The King then visited in succession the Isles of Mull and Isla, and the districts of Kintyre and Knapdale. The closing scene in the expedition was the King's entry into the harbour of Dumbarton, accompanied by Cardinal Beaton, who had under his command five hundred gentlemen of Fife and Angus; the Earl of Huntly, who was at the head of a similar force belonging to the northern shires; and the Earl of Arran, who commanded a like array of Western Highlanders, and a great number of persons of distinction who had been seized on the voyage. The King having been safely landed at Dumbarton, the fleet was again despatched northward, and arrived in the Forth by the route followed on proceeding to the Isles.

The latter days of James V. were much embittered by those disturbances which ushered in his reign, and in 1542, unable to bear up against the intelligence of the severe loss which befel his army in an engagement with the English on the shores of the Solway Frith, he died of a broken heart, leaving by his wife, Mary of Guise, one daughter, who became the celebrated Queen Mary; and among other illegitimate children, a son James Stuart, who became the scarcely less celebrated Regent Murray, and a daughter, who became Countess of Argyll.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1543 TO A.D. 1567.

THE INFANT MARY SUCCEEDS TO THE CROWN—PROJECT OF HENRY VIII. TO UNITE THE TWO KINGDOMS—ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH KING'S SUPPLIES AT DUMBARTON—PROCEEDINGS OF MATTHEW, EARL OF LENNOX—IS ADMITTED INTO DUMBARTON CASTLE, BUT AFTERWARDS EJECTED BY THE DEPUTY-GOVERNOR—THE CASTLE BESIEGED AND TAKEN BY THE QUEEN'S PARTY—QUEEN MARY EMBARKS AT DUMBARTON FOR FRANCE—ARRAN OBTAINS THE GOVERNORSHIP OF THE CASTLE—THE QUEEN RETURNS TO HER DOMINIONS—VISITS DUMBARTON—RESTORATION OF THE EARL OF LENNOX—QUEEN MARY'S MARRIAGE TO DARNLEY—JOHN ELDER OF DUMBARTON COLLEGIATE CHURCH—MURDER OF DARNLEY—DISTURBED STATE OF THE COUNTRY—THE EARL OF MURRAY HOLDS A COURT OF THE SHERIFFDOMS OF DUMBARTON AND RENFREW—CONVENTION OF THE QUEEN'S LORDS AT DUMBARTON—COPY OF THE DUMBARTON BOND AGREED UPON—THE LENNOX FAMILY AND THE QUEEN—THE LENNOX-DARNLEY JEWEL.



HIS chapter and the succeeding one embrace a period full of exciting occurrences, so far as the Lennox is concerned. When James V. died his daughter Mary was only six days old, and as no precaution had been taken to appoint an acceptable or efficient regency, the prospect of affairs was as dark and troubled as can well be imagined. The government of a queen of any kind, much less of an infant queen, was all but unknown in Scotland, and could not be supposed to inspire a martial nobility with much enthusiasm in its support; and this unfortunately happened at a conjuncture of affairs when it was that the executive should be powerful both to punish and protect. Cardinal Beaton was the first who claimed the dangerous pre-eminence of Regent. By the aid of a forged will he succeeded for a few months in making the nobility believe that it was by the desire of the late King he assumed his office; but the fraud being discovered he was compelled to resign in favour of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, a man of certainly inferior capacity to the Cardinal, but more amiable in disposition; and, what was of even more importance to the welfare of the country, who appeared at this period to be firmly attached to the principles of the

Reformation. Arran had hardly entered upon the duties of his new office, when he was called to consider and decide upon a proposal made by Henry VIII. to unite the two kingdoms by the marriage of his son Edward with the young Queen of Scots. The Regent decided in favour of the alliance; but with that irresolution which was the great defect of his character, he within three days made a secret treaty with Beaton's party actively opposed to it, and formally renounced the friendship of England. The English monarch had at this time many friends in the Scottish Court, for after the death of James he had released the most powerful of the nobles seized at Solway Moss, on condition that they would aid him in carrying out his schemes. These came to be known as the "assured Scots." It was therefore necessary that the party opposed to the alliance should be resolute in the measures they took to defeat what otherwise seemed certain to be accomplished sooner or later. The Cardinal and his adherents, Argyll, Huntly, and Bothwell, seized upon the persons of the young Queen and her mother, and despatched trusty messengers to France, to represent that unless assistance was now sent to Scotland, the country would infallibly be united to England. At this time the party of the Cardinal, or the French treaty, as it was sometimes called, received an accession of strength by the arrival from France of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, who might be said to be the hereditary enemy of the Regent, and was thought by many to have a superior claim to the honours of that office as being the nearest heir to the crown in the event of the young Queen's death.¹

¹ "The pretensions of the Earl of Lennox were thus founded:—Mary, the daughter of James II., was married to James, Lord Hamilton. Elizabeth, a daughter of that marriage, was the wife of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, grandfather of the present Earl of the same name. The Regent was likewise the grandson of the Princess Mary; but his

father having married Janet Beaton, the Regent's mother, after he had obtained a divorce from Elizabeth Home, his former wife, Lennox alleged that there was some informality in the sentence of divorce, and that the Regent being born while Elizabeth Home was still alive, ought to be considered as illegitimate."—Crawford's "Peerage," p. 192.

But as consistency was a virtue which politicians in this age neither professed nor practised, the adhesion of this nobleman was of brief duration. Finding that Beaton only sought to use him for the purpose of operating upon the fears of Arran, he broke off from his party and attached himself to that of Henry. In May he had possession of Dumbarton Castle, but appears to have been negotiated out of it by Arran, and fled westward, leaving the fortress in the hands of a captain on whom he could rely.¹ This change was soon afterwards attended with a serious mishap to the cause of the Cardinal. From the familiarity of Lennox with the French Court, Beaton's party had entrusted him with the negotiation to procure assistance from that power, and it was at his urgent entreaty that the French ambassador *Sieur de la Brosse*, was despatched northward with a fleet bearing a quantity of military stores, and ten thousand crowns, to be distributed among the friends of the Cardinal. Having received no notice that Lennox had changed sides, *De Brosse* made the best of his way up the Frith of Clyde (or Dumbarton),² and on the 30th of October he entered the harbour of Dumbarton. He was here met by Lennox, and *Glencairn*, another active partizan of Henry's, and on their representations, placed his precious freight in the neighbouring Castle, which was forthwith taken possession of by Lennox on behalf of the English king. Along with *De Brosse* came a Papal legate named *Grimani*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, who was commissioned to enquire into the prevalence of heretical opinions in Scotland, and to urge upon the people the necessity of renewing the league with France, if they wished to save themselves from the thralldom of Henry. How far he succeeded in checking the progress of heresy, we are not informed; but in regard to the latter part of his instructions, *Sadler*, the English ambassador, informed his royal master that such had been

¹ State Papers—Scotland—Henry VIII., vol. vi. p. 24. | now known as the Frith of Clyde, is laid down as the Frith of Dunbartane.

² In certain maps of this date what is

the effect of the legate's pensions and promises that the whole realm might be said to be in the French interest.¹ In return for many favours conferred on him by Henry, Lennox appears to have made large promises to serve him in Scotland, yet so little value did he set upon his pledged word that in January 1544, to escape a sentence of forfeiture passed upon him by the Scottish Parliament, he, along with the Earls of Cassillis, Angus and Glencairn, transmitted to Arran an agreement by which they bound themselves and all others their complices and partakers for mutual obedience to the Queen of Scotland, and for faithful true and manly resistance to their old enemies of England.² Nor was this their last change. Three months afterwards Lennox and the party with whom he acted are again found mustering their retainers, and fortifying the Bishop's residence in Glasgow against those with whom they had so recently entered into alliance. Arran, whose measures were now directed by his former opponent, the ever active Beaton, advanced westward at the head of one thousand men to attack Lennox in his new stronghold. After a siege of ten days, a twenty-four hours' truce was granted, during which the soldiers were gained over to the Regent's cause, and the Castle surrendered.³ Cruikston, also held on behalf of Lennox, surrendered two days afterwards. Lennox afterwards made good his escape, and having now gone too far to retreat, took an early opportunity of cementing his former alliance with the English King. On the 17th of May an indenture was concluded at Carlisle between Lord Wharton and Sir

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 26. In the "Diurnal of Occurrents," the arrival of the French fleet at Dumbarton is noticed under date 1543 :—"Vpoun the penult day of October the king of France sent to Scotland 10,000 crownis and fiftie peices of artailerie, with ane of his household men, nameit Mr. Cowpar. There came also ane counsellour of Rome, quha brocht fra the Paip and Patri-

ark, with powar to wail all the bouis of the benefices, to debait the realme, quhair thai landit at Dunbartane. All this money wes delyuerit to the Lord of Lennox, capitane of Dunbartane Castell."

² State Papers—Scotland—Henry VIII., vol. vii., No. 1.

³ "Diurnal of Occurrents," 1st April, 1544, p. 31.

Robert Bowes on the part of Henry, and Hugh Cunningham and Thomas Bishop on the part of Lennox and Glencairn, in terms of which they agreed to put the English king in possession of some of the strongest fortresses in Scotland, and to promote the marriage of the young Queen with Henry's son, Prince Edward. Glencairn was to receive a pension of 1000 crowns per annum, while Lennox was to be made Governor of Scotland, and to receive in marriage the hand of the King's niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas.¹ The custody of Dumbarton Castle was provided for in instructions given to Sir Peter Mewtas and Thomas Awedely, who were to receive the fortress from Lennox, and strengthen and vidual it as circumstances required. Lennox's brother, Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, was to remain in England as a hostage for the performance of the treaty. Thus aided and urged on by a powerful sovereign like Henry, Lennox adopted a bolder course of action than ever. From Carlisle, where the agreement was entered into, he proceeded northward to Dumbarton, and there he gathered together such of his supporters in the west country as still countenanced his designs. Among these were the Lairds of Arrochar,² Buchannan, Drumquhassil, Houston, and Tulibardine. Between his own vassals and supporters obtained from other quarters, his force amounted in all to about five hundred men. This was certainly far under the army of the Regent, but thinking it sufficient at least to trouble the Hamiltons in Clydesdale, Lennox despatched the men under the command of Glencairn, while he remained to perfect his schemes in Dumbarton. But the movement was anticipated by the leader of the royal army, who, on the 24th of May, forced Lennox's party into a conflict on the moor of Glasgow, which is thus described by Bishop Lesley :—" The Governour with

¹ State Papers—Scotland—Henry VIII., vol. vii., No. 10.

² Some of the Macfarlanes seem to have aided the Regent, as is shown by the follow-

ing entry in the Treasurer's Books :—" 1544, 13th April. Gevin to M'Farlane efter the assige of Glasgow, xxij lib."

his army approcheing to thame lychtit upoun fuit, and suddantlie boith the armeis with sic forces ran together and joyned, that none culd perfitlie discern quhilk of thame maid the first onset. It wes crewellie fochin a long space on ather syd, with uncartane victorie, and gret slauchter on boith the sydis. Bot at last the victorie inclyned to the Governour, and the uther parte was constraned to gife bakis and flie. Thair wes on Lenox part slayne mony gentill men, preistis and commons, and speciallie the laird of Houstoun; and the laird of Minto being than provest of Glasgw wes evill hurt, and mony takin presoners. And on the Governouris syd the laird of Kamskeyth and Siluertoun hil, war slayne with dyverse utheris. The Governour following his victorie, entered in the toun and besegit the castell and stepill, quhilk was randerit to him. Bot presentlie he causet saxtene gentill men quho kepit the same, to be hangit at the croce of Glasgw, and pardonit the uderis inferiors suddartis. The hoill citie wes spulyeit, and war not the special labouris of the Lord Boyd, quha maid ernist supplicatione to the Governour for suaftie of the same, the hoill toun with the bischoppe and channonis houssis had bene alluterlie brint and distroyit." Lesley goes on to say that Lennox, finding himself worsted in the conflict, sought to be admitted into the favour of the Regent, but it appears more likely that he left Dumbarton at once for the Court of Henry, as he there renewed his allegiance on the 26th of June, and so far implemented the conditions of agreement as to marry the Lady Margaret. Lennox on his side again became bound to put the English king in possession of the Castles of Dumbarton and Bute, and in addition to the hand of Henry's niece was to have secured to him lands to the value of £1700 sterling per anum.¹ As if for the purpose of precluding all

¹ State Papers—Scotland—Henry VIII., vol. vii., No. 17. Paper No. 20 is a list of articles to be observed on the part of the Earl of Lennox. He is to cause the Word

of God to be duly preached, to surrender his title to the throne of Scotland to Henry VIII., and to acknowledge him as supreme lord and governor.

future equivocation on the part of Lennox, Lady Margaret's settlement was made on the Earl's own inheritance, and consisted (as appears from the "Fœdera") of Glenrinne, Balloch, and Arthinturless (Aucintorly) in the Lennox, and the baronies Chukispe (Cruikston), Inchinnan, and Neilston, in Renfrew.

Shortly after this marriage the Earl of Lennox left Bristol with a squadron of ten ships, and a small force of hagbutters, archers, and pikemen, for the purpose of upholding Henry's cause in the west of Scotland. Seizing upon the islands of Bute and Arran in the name of his royal master and kinsman, he proceeded up the Clyde and arrived at Dumbarton on the 10th of August 1544. In the agreement entered into between Henry and Lennox, it was stipulated that Stirling of Glorat, the deputy-keeper of the Castle, was to receive a pension of 100 merks yearly if he quietly surrendered the fortress; but as soon as he knew that the intention of Lennox was to hold it in aid of the English king, Stirling turned the governor (*de jure*) out of the gates, and compelled him and his English followers to return to their ships. As George Douglas, with a force of 4000 men, was at this time close upon Dumbarton, Lennox judged it wise to leave the harbour and drop down the Clyde. On passing Dunoon he was fired upon by a party of Argyll's men—a proceeding which induced Lennox to land under cover of a fire from his own ships. His small force attacked the Highlanders with great spirit, and ultimately routed them with considerable slaughter.¹ On returning to Bristol Lennox

¹ In February 1562, Thomas Bishop, Lennox's secretary, who had then fallen into disgrace with Henry's party, addressed an epistle to Sir William Cecil, in which he sets forth the various important but ill-requitted services he had been engaged in. Among the first of these Bishop mentions the assistance given by him to Lennox in his attempt upon Dumbarton in 1544. "At the journey

in Dunbertane Castell (says Bishop), upoun disclosing of the tresone against the kinges majestie and us, openlie in the chapell I willed therle of Levenax tak a marrishepyke and feight rather than returne witht shame to Englande. For my harde escaping, doublett alone, with my lyef, and by my good polycye after our betraying in preserving the kinges majesteis power upoun

despatched Sir Peter Mewtas to King Henry to inform him of the indifferent success which had attended his enterprise. On the 2d of September, the Earl was summoned at the Cross of Dumbarton to answer to the above charges of treason and lese majesty, and failing to appear, a sentence of forfeiture was passed against him in a parliament held on the 1st October following.

The King of France so deeply resented the part which Lennox had taken in these transactions that he deprived his brother, Lord Aubigny, of all his high offices, and threw him into prison. Francis also used every effort to uphold the Queen's cause by sending what soldiers he could to Scotland. On the 31st May 1545, according to the "Diurnal," "the king of France send ij thousand gunnaris, iij hundred barbit horss, and ij hundred archeris of the gaird which landit at Dumbartane with greit provisioun, and thir wageis payit for sax months to come, and silver to fie ij thousand Scottis for the said sax montheis space. Vpoun the fourt day of Junij thei Frenchmen came out of Dumbartane, quhair they were ressaut be the queen's grace and governour with great dignitie; the principall of them was callit Monsieur Lorge Montgomery, quha was weill tretit by the queen's grace. Vpoun the same day the Bischope of Glasgow pleit with the Cardinall about the bering of his croce in his dyocie, and baith their croceis was broken in the kirk of Glasgow, throu thair strying for the samin."

Stirling of Glorat, who refused to deliver up the Castle of Dumbarton to Lennox, does not appear to have acted much more ceremoniously to the party to whom Lennox was opposed. The Regent himself had some suspicion as to which party Stirling belonged—a suspicion further confirmed by a declaration on the part of the deputy-governor that he would hold the Castle of Dumbarton

<p>lande eight myles from there schippis; the munition, vittelles and the exploeits done at Arrane, Bewte, Dynone, in Argile, and others</p>	<p>in that service for which I am attended."—"Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary" (Maitland Club), p. 98.</p>
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against both the Regent and Lennox till the young Queen was herself of age to demand it from him. In May 1545 Lennox, having received intelligence from Glencairn that the time was favourable for the recovery of Dumbarton Castle, despatched his brother, Robert Stewart, the Bishop-elect of Caithness, to prepare the way for his reception. The Regent's party thereupon became alarmed for the safety of the fortress, and ordered a siege to be made of it without loss of time. In the end of June, Arran, along with whom were Huntly and Argyll, surrounded it with a large force, but it resisted all their efforts for fifteen days, and was even then only secured by an appeal made to the cupidity of those interested in its defence. Caithness was bribed by the promise of restoration to that see which he had forfeited by rebellion, and Stirling received the promise of a pension large enough to compensate him for the loss of the fortress, even if it had been his own. According to the testimony of the "Diurnal," they both had cause to regret delivering up the Castle, as the Regent did not keep one word of his promise; while, it is believed, if they had held out a few days longer, the besiegers would have been compelled to retire, in consequence of Lennox himself approaching with a formidable squadron which he had fitted out in Ireland in conjunction with the Earl of Ormond.¹ During the siege, some of the adherents of Lennox collected a band of retainers in the neighbourhood, and making a sudden attack upon the Regent's party, killed fifty of them, and carried off much plunder.² If the Regent failed to keep his word regarding the rewards promised to the chief defenders of Dumbarton Castle, he appears to have at least screened them from that punishment to which their offences exposed them. On the 16th of July a remission was granted to Robert Stewart, John Spottiswoode, John Maik, chaplain, and John

¹ Letter, Privy Council of Ireland to the King, 15th November 1545.

² Privy Seal Reg., xx., 42; xxi., 8.

Maxwell, for treasonably holding the Castle of Dumbarton against the Queen and her governor, for remaining in England in time of war, and for all other crimes.¹ For two years after this date, the proceedings of Lennox are involved in some obscurity, but as he was not included in the above remission, the supposition may be safely hazarded that he was, in company with many other Scottish noblemen, seeking to advance by every means in his power the influence of the English king in the affairs of Scotland. Soon after the capture of St. Andrews, in July 1547, the Regent's party despatched John Hamilton of Milburn as ambassador to France to confer with the King and the Cardinal Lorraine regarding the captives taken on that occasion. On returning to this country, he met with a fatal mishap at Dumbarton, which is somewhat exultingly recorded by Knox. "The sum of all his negotiation (says the Reformer), was that those of the Castle were to be sharply handled; and on leaving the French Court received great credit, and many letters which this famous clerk (whom Knox previously intimates had neither French, nor Latin, nor much Scotch) foryett by the way; for passing up to the craig of Dumbarton before his letters were delivered, he broke his neck, and so God took away a proude ignorant enemye."²

As many of the Scottish nobility had not only gone over to the side of the English king themselves, but taken their retainers with them, the whole force which the Regent could muster was found to be utterly insufficient to defend the country, and his party was therefore once more compelled to solicit assistance from France. Though

¹ Privy Seal Reg., xx., 28. Some of lesser note were not equally fortunate. On October 7, 1547, "Peter Gamyll, dwelling in Brayhede of Corsehill, being at the horn, found caution to underlie the law at the next justiceair of Air, for abiding from the Queen's

army convened by the Lord Governour at the burgh of Dumbarton, for besieging and recovery of the Castle thereof."

² "Hist. of Refor.," vol. i. p. 207.—Wodrow Society ed.

the French king was himself in daily fear of being attacked by England, he contrived to send northward a supply of soldiers and also of money to aid the cause of the young Queen of Scotland. Maitland, a spy, writing to Lord Wharton, on March 30th, 1547, mentions two ships as having arrived at Dumbarton with powder and ordnance from France; and Bulmer, in a letter to Somerset, speaks of other two towards the end of that year. "On Christmas day last past (says Sir Ralph) two French ships came to Dumbarton and there landed fifty French captains, bringing money to wage 10,000 Scots for a year, which money is sent by the Bishop of Rome. There came three of the chief captains to Stirling to the Queen and the lords, on St. Stephen's day at night, apparalled all in white satin, and told the Queen and the council the cause of their coming. They showed her there was 6000 Frenchmen on the sea for Scotland waiting a wind.¹

The Protector Somerset failing to follow up the success gained on the field of Pinkie, the Queen-mother took advantage of the

¹ State Papers—Scotland—Bulmer to the Protector, 30th December 1547. In the Treasurer's Books there is the following entries in reference to the siege of Dumbarton in 1547 :—

1547, Dec. 30.—Item, For ane horse hyrit to ane francheman furth of Edinburgh to Strivelinqlk Francheman came furth of France to Dunbartane with powder and past to Striviling to inventsaltpetar, xv sh.
 " " " The nynt day of May to ane pure woman that had hir kye slane at the assege of Dunbartane, iij lib. vj sh.

1547, Dec. 30.—Item, The samyn tyme to ane pure smyth that had his hous and forge brynt the time of the said assege, ... x lib.

An old prophecy of Sibylla and Eltraine is thought to be applicable to these arrivals from France :—

" In their (the combatants) fight shall appeare
 A nauie of men-of-weir,
 Approaching at hand,
 Then put their men in ordinance
 With five hundreth knights of France
 And a Duke then to aduance,
 To be in the vanguard.
 And to the Anthelope shall leind
 And take him easlie to freind
 Then the Libbert shall the teind," etc., etc.

The inquiring reader is referred to the entire rhapsody—"Scottish Prophecies," Ban. Club, pp. 45 to 47.

temporary quietness which succeeded that engagement to prepare for removing Mary to the French Court, where, it was thought, she would be safe from the machinations of England, and the no less dangerous factions which existed in her own country. With this object in view, the young Queen, on the last day of February 1547-8, was removed from the monastery of Inchmahome, where she had been placed on the advice of the Protector, to the Castle of Dumbarton, and committed to the care of John Erskine, a partizan of the Queen-Dowager, and William Livingstone, a kinsman of the Regent.¹ The Regent himself appears to have looked with some misgivings upon the removal of the Queen to Dumbarton, as likely to defeat a scheme he had long cherished of marrying her to his son, James Hamilton. The Earl of Huntly, writing to Somerset under date 20th March 1548, says :—" My Lord, I am credibly advertised that our governor repents that our mistress is past to Dumbarton, and is labouring to bring her grace again to [Stirling], which is promised to him so soon her grace is whole in person. She has been very sick in the small-pox, and is not yet whole."²

¹ State Papers—Scotland—Ed. VI., vol. iii., No. 79. An entry in the Royal Comptus indicates the punctuality of the payments made to Mary's personal guardians :—" Unto the last day of February in the year of God, 1547-8, which was the day of their departing with the Queen's grace to Dumbarton, disbursed the sum of 200 lib."—Excheq. Rec. in Reg. House.

² Huntly's observation regarding the sickness of the young Queen is curiously corroborated by Adriani Turnebi in his " Epithalamium Francisci, Francæ Delphini et Mariæ Scotorum Reginae :"—

" Huc decus et tantum speciosæ frontis honorem
Invidit Cytherea Venus : populataque sævâ
Diva lue obsevit variis deformibus ora."

Mary's beauty, however, appears not to have

been marred by a disease which, in her time, might be considered a national scourge, for the poet adds—

" Non tulit invidiam Cypræ tamen æmula Juno
Non Pallas," etc.

Her experience at this time enabled Mary nearly twenty years afterwards, to bestow her sympathy on her sister of England, that she (Elizabeth) had got quit of an attack without having her good looks injured thereby. State Paper—Mary to Elizabeth, May, 1566. From other references in that letter it appears probable that the young Queen continued under treatment even after her arrival in France, as she speaks of having been attended by Fernel, who was physician to Henry II.

At a Parliament held in the Abbey of Haddington on the 17th July, Monsieur D'Essé gave affectionate assurances of the anxiety felt by the French king to assist the Regent against what he termed the cruelty and arrogance of England.¹ D'Essé stated that his royal master was extremely desirous that the league which for so many centuries had bound the two nations together should be further strengthened by a marriage between his son, the Dauphin, and their youthful Queen; and if the Estates would in the meantime commit her to his charge her education would be superintended with the utmost care. To these proposals the Scottish Parliament unanimously agreed, upon the condition that the French king should solemnly promise to preserve the laws and liberties of the realm of Scotland as they had existed under its own race of kings. In compliance with this resolve, Monsieur de Villegagne, a French naval officer, then lying in the Forth, was instructed to proceed to Dumbarton with four galleys, to receive the young Queen. As it was well known that Somerset had sent Clinton with a fleet to intercept her, Villegagne pretended at first that he was bound for France, but on clearing the mouth of the Frith suddenly changed his course northward, passed through the Pentland Frith, and then steered southward till he entered the Clyde. In a letter sent by Sir John Luttrell to Shrewsbury, August 5, he mentions in a postscript:—“The young quyne ys embarked at Donbritayne, and gone towards Fraunce.” Lord Grey, however, writing to Somerset two days later, says—“I am informed that the young Queen is not yet transported, but lieth in a galley accompanied with other galleys, and four or five ships, a little from Dumbarton, where she undoubtedly was yesterday (August 6) at twelve of the clock at noon. The Lady Fleming, her mistress, making request to the captain of the galley,

¹ D'Essé had arrived in Scotland with auxiliaries, referred to in a preceding the second detachment of 6000 French page.

whose name is Villegaignon, to have her on land to repose her because she hath been long on the sea, he answered she should not come on land, but rather go into France, or else drown by the way!" About three weeks previously, the Queen-Dowager had left the nunnery of Haddington for Dumbarton, to prepare for the departure of the young Queen.¹ "The touching scene of the parting," says Miss Strickland, "between the royal mother and daughter took place on the 7th of August, in the presence of the Governor Arran, and many noble spectators, on that picturesque green spot of broken ground which juts from the foot of the lofty rock of Dumbarton into the broad waters of the Clyde. All things being ready, and the tide serving, the young sovereign was brought, with the ceremonial pomp of royal etiquette, by the Lords Erskine and Livingstone, the two noble commissioners for the safe keeping of her person then on duty, and her other officers of state, down the narrow descent from her chamber in the fortress, on the western peak of the rock, attended by her four Maries, her faithful nurse Janet Sinclair, her governess the Lady Fleming, her two preceptors, the Abbot of Inchmahome and the Parson of Balmaclellan; and her three illegitimate brothers—the Lord James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the Regent Murray, Lord John, the Commendator of Holyrood Abbey, and the Lord Robert, Prior of Orkney—who were to be the companions of her voyage. The Queen-mother, assisted by the Governor Arran, delivered her royal daughter to the Chevalier de Villegaignon and the Sieur de Brézé (or Brosse), hereditary Seneschal of Normandy, the gentlemen commissioned by the King of France to receive that precious charge. The little Queen was observed to shed tears silently after she had received the maternal blessing and farewell kiss of the only parent she had ever known; but early trained in the regal science of self-control, she offered no

¹ State Paper—Scotland—Palmer and Holcroft to Somerset, July 13, 1548.

resistance, and permitted herself to be carried on board the galley of the King of France, which had been fitted up and sent expressly for her accommodation, by the august sire of her future spouse. An eye-witness of the embarkation has recorded that the young Queen was at that time one of the most beautiful creatures in her own dominions—nay, that her equal was nowhere to be found, nor had the world another child of her fortune and hopes.¹ The little squadron escaped every danger, and cast anchor in the harbour of Brest after six days' sail. From this place the young Queen made her progress to the palace of St. Germain, where she was joyfully received by the French monarch, and an honourable court and household appointed for her at the public expense."²

During the absence of Queen Mary in France, the period for which Arran had been elected Regent expired, and as the energetic measures latterly adopted by the Queen-mother to eject him from the regency made any attempt he might make to retain the honour for a longer period quite hopeless, he went through the formal ceremony of resignation in a Parliament which assembled at Edinburgh in April 1554. As his power, though greatly lessened, was still to be dreaded, the Queen's party procured him the dignity of Duke of Chatelherault, and allowed him to retain the governorship of Dumbarton Castle, with all the revenues arising therefrom. Various schemes were then set on foot by the English party for securing that fortress on behalf of their sovereign Elizabeth. One of them (when it was for a brief period in their possession) is thus noticed by the ambassador Randolph, in a letter to Sadlier and Croft, dated February 23, 1560:—"The Castle itself is marvellous strong by nature, but greatly neglected, and many places to be repaired to withstand the force of an entrance. Since the receipt of my letter to

¹ "Queens of Scotland," vol. ii. pp. 99, 100.

² State Papers—Scotland—Edward VI., vol. iv. p. 93.

the Duke, it is determined to send hither one hundred harquebusers, to vituall it and repair it with all speed. Of artillery they have sufficient [the castle] being well placed to defend itself. I assure your honour that it is a matter of great importance to have that place well kept. I think it will be desired [desirable] that your honours send some such [person] to examine the place and give his advice what is most expedient to be built or repaired for the better defence of the same." Chatelherault nominally held possession of Dumbarton Castle till April 1561, when, from his alleged accession to a conspiracy against Queen Mary, he was compelled to resign the fortress into the hands of Captain Anstruther.

While the young Queen was being trained up in the most orthodox of Popish courts, the cause of the Reformation had made such strides that an attempt to celebrate mass¹ on her return in 1561, a tumult was created which required the most active interference on the part of her brother Lord James Stewart, to suppress.²

Two years after the arrival in Scotland, the Queen, with a numerous retinue, made a progress through Argyllshire to Inverary, and on her return homeward, took the opportunity of visiting the Castle of Dumbarton, which had afforded her protection at a time when many of the royal strongholds were in the hands of her enemies.³

¹ On May 19, 1563, Robert Galbraith of Garscadden was among the forty-seven who, along with John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was called upon to underlie the law, "for assisting at the celebration of mass" in the chapel of his own house. Garscadden's punishment is not mentioned, but three of those indicted along with him, viz., Malcolm, Prior of Quhithorne, Sir Thomas Montgomery, and Sir William Tail-yefair, were "adjugit to be put in ward within the Castell of Dumbartane."

² This was hardly in keeping with what

was alleged against the Lord James in 1559. In a letter dated at Dumbarton, the 12th August of that year, he defends himself from charges of ingratitude and turbulence brought against him by his absent Sovereign—Knox's "History of the Reformation," vol. i. p. 396.

³ The route is thus indicated in her Household Book :—

1563, June 29. Holyrood to Linlithgow.

" " 30. To Dunipace, Stirlingshire.

" July 1. To Glasgow (where she continued till 13th, visiting Paisley and Hamilton).

In 1563, Mary began openly to give evidence of a feeling of great respect for Matthew, Earl of Lennox, whose attachment to the interest of England, had kept him in banishment from his native kingdom for the long space of twenty-one years. This feeling on the part of the Queen may be traced partly to the circumstance that she at this early period looked with no unfavourable eye on the Earl's son, Henry, Lord Darnley, and partly to the fact that the Earl of Lennox, from his marriage with Lady Margaret Douglas, was Mary's most dangerous rival in her claim upon the English succession. She therefore considered it her wisest policy to draw still closer her former friendly intercourse with the house of Lennox. In September 1563, the Earl, according to the "*Diurnal*," was "*relaxit fra the proces of our souerane lady's horne*," and in December 1564, the act of forfeiture passed against him was repealed by Parliament, and immediately thereafter he was publicly restored to his former honours and possessions. The marriage negotiations which had been commenced almost upon the death of her first husband, the Dauphin, were carried on with the most fruitless result till the summer of 1565, when the Queen put an end to all further suspense by announcing that she had resolved to unite herself in marriage with Henry, Lord Darnley.¹ The ill-starred union was solemnized in the chapel of

1563, July 14. To Dumbarton.

" " 15, 16. Rosdhu.

" " 17, 18. Dumbarton.

" " 19. Set out for Inverary, which was reached on the 22d, and where she stayed nearly four days with her illegitimate sister, the Countess of Argyll.

¹ Darnley's principal preceptor had been a member of the Collegiate Church of Dumbarton, who followed the fortunes of Lennox when he fled to England. "John Elder"

(says Miss Strickland) "was a clever linguist, a good Latinist; and as to his English, he surpassed most of the natives of the south in the clearness and pleasantness of his style. He had written in favour of the royal supremacy of Henry VIII.; also a popular pamphlet, setting forth the advantages of the union of England and Scotland—a union into which King Henry was then endeavouring to coerce Scotland at the point of the sword. The little treatise, which is well known to black-letter collectors, proves John Elder to have been a man in advance of his

Holyrood House on the morning of the 29th July 1565. Immediately after her marriage, Mary took active steps to break up the faction headed by her natural brother the Earl of Murray, which had manifested great opposition to the match, and was generally believed to look to the English Court for direction and support. Darnley for a time aided her in this attempt, but with characteristic folly and ingratitude he afterwards allied himself with her opponents, and finally alienated all affection the Queen might ever have felt for him, by consenting to, if not originating that scheme of hostility to her government which led to the murder of her favourite David Rizzio. From this period revenge, dignified as far as such a passion can be dignified, and ill concealed by either her levity or despondency seemed to take possession of the mind of Mary; nor did the birth of a prince, which took place on the 19th of June following, very seriously change the current of her thoughts. Darnley, from playing false with his fellow-conspirators, was for a time received into Mary's favour; but his capricious conduct had raised up many against him, and he in turn became the victim of a plot which historians affirm was neither unknown to, nor disapproved of by the Queen.¹ Unfortunately the

time, in regard to statistical wisdom—the more remarkable, as the author claims to be a Highlander, those worthy Celts, at that period, being little skilled either in political economy or in the noble science of composing readable and idiomatic English. Nevertheless, the priest signed himself John *Redshank*—the appellation by which the Highlanders were known in the south.—“*Queens of Scotland*,” vol. ii. p. 335.

¹ In one of the few letters dictated by the Queen herself in Scotch, dated 30th September 1566, when Darnley, in one of his sulky moods, was threatening to leave Scotland, the Earl of Lonnox is informed that she had required of her husband “To know quhat is

the mater that he findis himself grevit in, and mislykis, and gif the samyn stude in our awin hand we war content to do thairin quhat becomes us, as the Counsell likwis offerit for thair pairtes that in reasoun he suld have na occasioun of discontentation. Be his answer, als weill to ourself, as to our Counsell in Monsieur Le Crocques presence he myskenawis that he hes ony sic purpos in hede, or ony cause of miscontentatioun. But his speking is conditionall sua that we can understand na thing of his purpos in that behalf. Alwayes we thocht gude to give yow advertisement hairif, that ze may weill persave in quhat devoir we have putt ourself to satisfie him in all thingis as accordis upoun

conduct of Mary at this crisis was not of a kind calculated to impress her subjects with a belief favourable to her innocence. The Earl of Bothwell, who was generally looked upon as the prime mover of the conspiracy against Darnley, went through the form of a trial, but the proceedings were so arranged as to let in the least possible light upon the tragedy of the Kirk-of-Field, and he obtained an acquittal, as was to be expected from a court overawed by, if not composed of, a band of his armed retainers. With indecent haste Bothwell was acknowledged by Mary as her friend, and before she had been three months a widow was accepted by her as a fitting successor to that husband whom he was believed to have murdered. But so unfortunate was the issue of Mary's affairs from the date of her union with Bothwell, that in little more than four weeks afterwards she was compelled to surrender to the nobles confederated in arms against her at Carberry Hill; and on the day following that surrender she was, in violation, as some think, of a solemn promise to the contrary, conveyed a captive to the Castle of Lochleven. Her brother, the Earl of Murray, was soon afterwards raised to the dignity of Regent, and in conjunction with a party favourable to the cause of the Reformation, took active steps to restore tranquillity to the country. In the "Diurnal" we read of the Regent proceeding to Glasgow, where he held a court of the Sheriffdoms of Dumbarton and Renfrew, and "punisht certane greit thevis, malefactouris, and oppressouris to the number of xxij personis." Justice also began to overtake several of these concerned in the murder of the late King, though seizures were still confined to the more obscure conspirators. As appears from an entry in the "Treasurer's Accounts,"¹ the limbs of certain of those executed were

reasoun. Likeas he sal nevir be us have occasioun to the contrarie. Subscruit with our hand, at Edinburgh, the last day of September 1566: Zour gud dochter, MARIE R.—See fac simlie in "The Lennox," by Wm. Fraser, Esq., vol. ii. p. 350. Also

Historical Commission Report.—Buchanan Muniments.

¹ 1568, Jan. 13. Item, To Johnne Broune, messenger, and ane boy, passand of Edr with clois

set up in the burgh of Dumbarton, no doubt as a token that signal justice had been meted out to those concerned in the murder of one so intimately connected with the district. The suspicious delay in bringing any of the culprits to trial led Lennox to beseech the Queen directly to bring to instant punishment the parties named in certain anonymous placards affixed to the gate of the Parliament House, Edinburgh. Another letter, dated Houston, March 17th, plainly charged Bothwell and several others with being concerned in the crime. It was then the mock trial was resolved on, and instructions issued to summon Lennox at the market crosses of Glasgow, Dumbarton, and Lanark, to make good his charge. The Earl, through Robert Cunningham, declined to attend, on the ground of the short notice given, and the limited number of followers permitted to accompany him.

While the leaders in excesses such as the murder of Darnley were allowed to escape almost with impunity, it may readily be believed that in the districts far removed from the Court the offences against the peace of the country were both numerous and aggravated. In Dumbarton, as elsewhere, there were many families who preferred settling their feuds after their own lawless method to taking them before the properly constituted tribunals. On the 18th of March

1568, Jan. 13.—*Continued.*

writtings, togidder
with the heid of
Pourie, leggis of
Johnne Hay yr. of
Tallo, and Johnne
Hepburne of Bol-
toun, to be affixit
on the portis of
Glasgow, Hamil-
toun, Dumbertane,
Air, and Wigtoun,
.....iiij li. ij s.

1568, Jan. 13. Item, For crelis and turs-
ing (conveying) of
the saide heidis,
leggis, and armis,
and candle for
packing thair of, xs.

In 1569, William Stewart, formerly Lyon King
at Arms, was confined in Dumbarton Castle
on the charge of being concerned in the
murder of the King, and afterwards exe-
cuted at St. Andrews, on the same day appa-
rently as the hapless French page Nicholas
Hubert.

1564, nine individuals of the name of Houstone,¹ residing in and about Dumbarton, attacked Andrew Hamilton of Cochno on the High Street of the burgh, and as they were fully armed for a fray, would in all probability have taken his life had he not found means of escaping from their fury to a friend's house in the neighbourhood. Three months afterwards the Houstons were tried in Edinburgh, and (with one exception) found guilty of "unlawfully convening the lieges" on the occasion referred to, and also of intending to slaughter the "aforesaid Andrew Hamilton;" but as there is an unfortunate hiatus in the "Books of Adjournal" about this period, it is impossible to say what punishment was inflicted on the panels, or in what circumstances their offence had its origin.²

Soon after the imprisonment of the Queen in Lochleven, a party professing adherence to her cause, and known as the "Queen's Lords," finding themselves removed from all offices of importance under the new government, betook themselves to the Castle of Dumbarton, then held by Lord Fleming for the interest of Mary, and there entered into a bond to release and protect their captive sovereign.³

¹ Their names were Patrick Houstone of that ilk; Peter, William, John, and William Houstone, his brothers-german; William Houstone, burgess of Dumbarton; John Houstone in Kilpatrick; John Houstone, elder, in Dumbarton; and John, his son.

² It is not improbable that the attack may have been made under colour of law, as Hamilton of Cochno was a staunch adherent of Queen Mary, and, with his son John, was among those outlawed after the battle of Langside. The "assize" on the Houstons were—John Colquhoun of Luss; David Berkley of Ladyland; Robert Lord Boyd; James Glenne, Barr; John Somerville of Cambusnethane; Robert Colquhoun of Camstradden; William Smollett, burgess

of Dumbarton; Walter Buchanan, Drumakill; William Livingston of Jerviswood; Andrew M'Farlane of Arrochar, and John Cunningham of Drumquhassil. Among the absentees were—Mungo Lindsay of Balull; Robert Buchanan of Balloch, and Luke Stirling of Ballagan.—Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials," vol. i. p. 451.

³ The terms of the Dumbarton bond are:—"Forasmuch, considering the Queen's Majesty, our Sovereign, to be unlawfully detained at present in Lochleven in captivity, wherefore the most part of her lieges cannot have free access to her Highness: and seeing that it becomes us of our duty to seek her liberty and freedom, we, earls, lords, and barons under subscribed, promise faithfully

Fortunately for the peace of the country, the parties to the Dumbarton bond (some of whom were deeply implicated in the excesses of Mary's reign), made no attempt at this time to put their threat into execution, though they sought, by secret means, to substitute Chatelherault for Murray in the regency; which change, and not the liberation of the Queen, was generally understood to be the real object of the confederacy. In the following month (July) a powerful association was formed for the purpose of protecting the young Prince and carrying on the government in his name. Among the signatures to the bond then entered into are those of John Noble of Ardardan, Walter Macaulay of Ardincaple, and John Cunningham of Drumquhassil.

Whatever suspicion the Earl and Countess of Lennox may at

to use the utmost of our endeavours, by all reasonable means, to procure her Majesty's liberty and freedom upon such honest conditions as may assent with her Majesty's honour, the common weal of the whole realm, and security of the whole nobility who at present have her Majesty in keeping; whereby this our native realm may be governed, ruled, and guided by her Majesty and her nobility, for the common quietness and administration of justice and weal of the country. And in case the noblemen who have her Majesty at present in their hands refuse to set her at liberty upon such reasonable conditions as said is, in that case we shall employ ourselves, our kindred, friends, servants, and partakers, our bodies and our lives, to set her Highness at liberty, and also to concur to the punishment of the murderers of the King her Majesty's husband; and for sure preservation of the person of the Prince, as we shall answer to God, and our honour, and credit; and to that effect shall concur every one with another that are deemed

proper. And if any shall set upon us, or any of us, for the doing as first mentioned, in that case we promise faithfully to espouse one another's interest under pain of perjury and infamy, as we shall answer to God.

"In witness whereof, we have subscribed these presents with our hands at Dumbarton, the — day of —"

"St. Andrews, Argyle, Huntly, Arbroath, Galloway, Ross, Fleming, Herries, Stirling, Kilwinning, Will. Hamilton, of Sanquhar, Knt."

Keith, in his "Church History," gives the Dumbarton bond nearly as quoted above, and suggests as its probable date the 29th July 1567; but this is obviously an error, as Throgmorton, the English ambassador, in a letter to Elizabeth, dated 14th July, says:—"Herewith I send your Majestie the last bounde agreed on and signed by the Hamiltons, etc., at Dumbertan." The true date of the bond, as is seen from an original transcript in the State Paper Office, is 29th June 1567.

first have had of the Queen's complicity in the murder of Darnley, a certain amount of confidence came to be restored between them and various courtesies were exchanged afterwards during Mary's unhappy captivity in England.¹

Another interesting evidence of the close alliance kept up between the Lennox family and the royal house, even when under extreme peril, is furnished in the presentation by the widowed Countess to the young King, of the famous Lennox or Darnley jewel, thought to shadow forth in its ingenious devices some of the more striking incidents in the recent career of this ancient family. Its early history is obscure, and can only be in part surmised through the emblems traced by the hands of some cunning but unknown workman on the outer and inner sides of the jewel. At the breaking up of Walpole's Strawberry Hill collection in 1842, her Majesty Queen

¹ The Countess Margaret, dating from Hackney, November 11 (no year mentioned), writes:—"Yt may please your Maiesti, I have reseed your tokyn and mynd, both by your letter and otherways, moch to my comfort, spesyally parseving what zelouse naturall care your Maiesti hath of owre sweet and peerless juell in Scotlaund [James VI. then a child], not letyll to my content. I have byn no les ferfull as your Maiesti of hyme, that the wyked governor should not have powre to dow yll to hes parsone, whom God preserv from hes enemys . . . I besych your Maiesti fere not, but trust in God that all ther shalbe well. The treachery of your traitour ys known better than beffore. I shall alwayse play my pairt to your Maiestis content, wylling God, so as may tend to both our comforts, and now mwst yeld your Maiesti my most humble thanks for your good remembrance and bounty to our letyll daughter hyre, who sum day may sarve your highness. Almighty God grant and to your Maiesti

long and happy lyffe. Hackney, thys xjth of November. Your Maiestis most humble and loveyng mothere and awnt. M. L."—State Papers—Queen Mary, vol. x., No. 71. Regarding a letter written in a similar vein, dated 2d May 1578, Mr Froude remarks:—"This acknowledgment, which was of extreme value at the time to the Queen of Scots in assisting to clear her reputation, has been relied upon in later times as an evidence in her favour. It is worth while to observe, therefore, that Lady Lennox continued long after to speak in her old language to others. Elizabeth, suspecting the reconciliation, questioned her about it. 'I asked her Majesty if she could think so,' Lady Lennox wrote to Burghley, 'for I was made of flesh and blood, and could never forget the murder of my child;' and she (Queen Elizabeth) said, 'Nay, by her faith, she could not think that ever I could forget it, for if I would I were a devil.'"—Vol. xi. p. 72.

Victoria became possessor of the relic, and soon afterwards commissioned Mr. P. F. Tytler to prepare a series of historical notes showing how far and in what way the Lennox-Darnley jewel, with its figures and inscriptions, illustrated the troubled career of one of her Scottish ancestors. It is not known how the jewel came into Walpole's possession, nor is there any note in his writing indicating its history or design. In the description of his curiosities it is simply mentioned as, "A golden heart, set with jewels, and ornamented with emblematic figures enamelled, and Scottish mottoes, made by order of the Lady Margaret Douglas, mother of Henry Lord Darnley, in memory of her husband, Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox and Regent of Scotland, murdered by the Papists." The jewel, as stated above, is a golden heart, measuring about two inches each way, encircled with a couplet signifying that whoever hopes constantly with patience shall obtain victory in their "pretence" or claim. On the outer face is a crown surmounted with three white fleurs-de-lis, upon an azure field, and set with three rubies and an emerald. Beneath it is a heart formed of sapphire, with wings enamelled blue, red, green, and yellow, all supported by other figures representing Faith, Hope, Victory, and Truth. This small crown opens, showing within the lid two hearts united by a blue buckle and a golden true-love knot, pierced with two arrows, feathered with white enamel, barbed with gold, and surmounted with the motto, "WHAT WE RESOLVE." Below this device in the cavity within the crown are the letters "M. S. L.," the cipher apparently of the Earl and Countess. The heart of sapphire also opens, and within its lid is the device of two hands holding a hunting horn, with a motto rhyming to the other, "DEATH SHALL DISSOLVE." The reverse of the heart is covered with devices, and bears a couplet in the quaint spelling of the day, "MY STATE TO THESE I MAY COMPARE, FOR YOU WHO ARE OF GOODNESS RARE." The heart itself opens by a hinge at the top, and within the lid a fresh grouping of emblems, among others a



marl

Charles

J. L. Darnley

James

LENNOX DARNLEY JEWEL - ROYAL AUTOGRAPHS.

martyr's stake surrounded by flames, and near it a female figure on a throne with a tiara on her head and a scroll inscribed "GAR TEL MY RELEAES." The emblems taken together are thought to denote a hidden claim to some dignity or right, which Truth, Patience, and Hope were to crown with Victory. In the lives of the Earl and Countess of Lennox, Mr. Tytler did not fail to discover such a resolution and such a claim. He showed that the great family purpose, ultimately realized, was the marriage of their son Henry Lord Darnley to Mary Queen of Scots. On the death of Darnley, the hopes of the Earl and Countess were centred in their grandson, James VI.; and the last words of the Regent Lennox when slain in 1572 were in the form of a kindly inquiry after the safety of the young King, and the memorable message to his wife, fondly styled "Meg"—"If the bairn's weel, all's weel." From these and many other considerations mentioned by Mr. Tytler,¹ he came to the

¹ The historic application of the various emblems, even if they could be read with complete exactness, would occupy unnecessary space; but the ingenuity with which Mr. Tytler follows the parallels may be illustrated by his description of some of the emblems inside. The two warriors might have had reference to the death of Lennox, who, mortally wounded, points to a crowned shield bearing the figure of the young King. The other crowned figure seizing a female by the hair, may indicate the temporary triumph of the Scottish Queen's party over the fortunes of the Countess of Lennox and the young King. This party whose object it was to restore Mary to the throne she had been compelled to abdicate in favour of her son, undoubtedly used their triumph with no sparing hand; and the figure of the lady dragged by the hair is not too strong an

emblem of the ruin which for a time fell on the house of Lennox, on the death of the Regent. The stake he accepted as an emblem of religious persecution. Lady Lennox, it was observed, had been reported a Roman Catholic, and, as such, had become an object of suspicion and persecution by Queen Elizabeth. It was asserted in the Privy Council, that one great object of Lady Lennox's desire for the alliance of Darnley with Mary was to re-establish the religion of the Church of Rome. This noble lady was also bitterly attacked by falsehood on another ground—her legitimacy. These points in her life may offer a key to the complicated emblems of Time and Truth. Her being slandered and threatened with loss of honour, birthright, and royal descent is indicated by the jaws vomiting out fire and lies; whilst Time pulling Truth from the well, marks the

conclusion that the jewel had been made about 1576 for Margaret Countess of Lennox, in memory of her husband the Regent, as a present to her royal grandson the King of Scots.

triumph of truth in the establishment of her legitimacy. The celestial sphere, with the inscription "ZE SEIM," etc., may allude to the bright influences which seemed to reign over her early days, her education at the court of Henry VIII., her marriage and the favour she enjoyed from her sovereign, Mary of England. These were succeeded by her becoming, under Elizabeth, the victim of persecution and dissimulation. This temporary triumph of evil over the celestial influences, is represented by the double face of Time, and by half his body in shape of a

demon resting on the celestial sphere and checking its motions. The lady enthroned—last feature of the group—points to the same story. "She is no longer (to use Mr. Tytler's own words) at the mercy of her enemy: no longer in the miserable state in which she appears below, dragged by the hair, wretched and discrowned. She has regained her liberty, her honours are restored, her diadem sparkles on her brow, and she proclaims her release—'GAR TEL MY RELAES.'"

CHAPTER VIII.

QUEEN MARY, ON ESCAPING FROM LOCHLEVEN, SEEKS TO REACH DUMBARTON—BATTLE OF LANGSIDE—THE CLAN FARLANE—DUMBARTON CASTLE KEPT BY JOHN, LORD FLEMING, ON BEHALF OF QUEEN MARY—BESIEGED BY MURRAY—TAKEN BY SURPRISE DURING THE REGENCY OF LENNOX—THE REGENT MORTON IMPRISONED IN DUMBARTON—CHANGES IN THE LENNOX SUCCESSION—TRADE BETWEEN DUMBARTON AND GLASGOW—LETTER FROM KING JAMES TO THE BURGESSES OF DUMBARTON—CAMPBELL OF ARDKINLASS ATTACKED IN DUMBARTON—THE KING PREPARES TO EMBARK AT DUMBARTON FOR THE ISLES.



IN the evening of the 2d May 1568, Queen Mary, aided by one of her keepers, young George Douglas, made her escape from the Castle of Lochleven. She proceeded without loss of time to Hamilton, where the nobility and clergy assembled round her in great numbers, and, in the enthusiasm of the moment entered into a bond to restore her to her crown and kingdom. Regent Murray, at this time in Glasgow, determined with that quick decision and sound judgment generally marking his movements, to oppose the Queen's party, and for this purpose drew out his army, now sorely diminished by desertion, on the neighbouring burgh muir. Queen Mary appears to have been desirous of avoiding a battle, and thought if she could only reach Dumbarton Castle in safety she might there regain that influence over the minds of her subjects which she had lost by indiscretion. Her advisers generally were of opinion that it would be for the interest of the kingdom if she would occupy Dumbarton till a Parliament could be called together to devise measures for the welfare of herself and the young Prince.¹ But this design was opposed by the Hamiltons, who, thinking themselves stronger than Murray, deemed the opportunity a favourable one for

¹ Keith's "Church History," book ii. c. 13.

crushing him for ever ; and though they ultimately did consent to march to Dumbarton, it was evident they would lose no opportunity of bringing the two armies into hostile collision. Contrary to their expectation, the Regent himself was the first to attack, and on the 15th May, on the field of Langside, he obtained a victory which was sufficient to dispel any hope Mary might have entertained of once more ascending the throne. In this engagement the Clan Farlane, from the Lennox, bore a prominent part. Hollinshed, speaking of the battle, says :—" The valiancie of ane Heiland gentleman named Macfarlane stode the Regent's part in great stede ; for in the hottest brunte of the fighte, he came up with two hundred of his friendes and countrymen, and so manfully gave in upon the flankes of the Queen's people, that he was a great cause of the disordering of them. This Macfarlane had been lately before condemned to die for some outrage by him committed, and obtanying parden through the suit of the Countess of Moray, he recompensed that clemencie by this piece of service now at this batayle." The accounts of Calderwood and Melville are less favourable to the Macfarlanes, but the statement quoted above is borne out by a document entitled " Advertisement of the Conflict in Scotland," which appears to have been written two days after the battle by one who was present on the occasion, and is still further confirmed by the Regent granting their leader a crest consisting of a demi-savage proper holding in one hand a sheaf of arrows and pointing with the other to a crown, with the motto—" *Tunc Eri rex*." The chief of the Clan Farlane at this time was Andrew, the thirteenth in direct descent from Gilchrist, the first of Annchar. He was married to Agnes, a daughter of Sir Patrick Maxwell of Newark. Colquhoun of Luss and the Laird of Buchanan also supported the Regent at Langside, while Colquhoun of Balvie was made prisoner fighting for Queen Mary.

That Dumbarton had not been backward in supporting the cause of the Regent against Queen Mary's party is evident from a

communication addressed to the burgesses by the Regent, on the eve of his departure to the borders against the rebels, at the close of the year following the battle of Langside :—¹

" Efter our maist hertlie commendatiounes, Seeing we can not yet have the money to send you for furnessing of the suderts according as we have oft promisset and writtin to you, And that upoun ane schort and suddane occasioun we mon repair to the borders, Becaus the inglis rebellis having left thair strenthis ar repairit thairto, we will pray you yit as of befoir to tak in patience, safer unto the tyme that the money be gottin we will not lett your baillie Alexander Douchall nor Cpt^a. Murray dep^t, ffor howbeit ye haif greit loisse of the want of your siluer sa lang, Be weill assurit ye sall not want ane penny of that thing q^{lk} is awand, and that sasone as possibillie we can or ma. And sa referring to new occasioun committis you to God. At Edinburgh the xx of December 1569. At our departing from ed^r.,

" Your assurit freind,

Addressed { "To our traist freindis the
burgessis and inhabi-
tants of the burgh of
Dunbertane."

James Murray

It is doubtful if the burgesses were ever reimbursed for the expenses incurred on that occasion ; but as if to put their claim beyond cavil, they obtained the following obligation from the Regent when in Dumbarton at the siege of the Castle, in January 1569-70 :—

" WE, James, erle of Murray, lord Abirnethie, Regent to our Souerane lord, his realme, and lieges, Be the tenour heirof, obleisses us, our airis and executouris, To content pay and thankfullie deleuir to the baillies, burgesses, and inhabitantis of the burgh of Dunbertane all sowmes of money awand to thame be o^r Souerane lordis men of weir and suddartis that hes lyne in Dumbertane, and bene furnist of

¹ From original, among Dumbarton Burgh Records.

mete, drink, and other furnessing thair diuers moneths bigane, according to the captanis tikkettes, and that betuix the date heirof and the first day of februar nixtocum w'out farther delay, fraude, or gyle. In witness heirof, we haife subscriuit this present obligatioun with our hand. At Dunbertane, the sevint day of Januar, The yeir of God j^mv^c three scoir nyne yeirs, Before thir witnesses, Johnne, erle of Mar ; Alexander, erle of Glencairn ; Robert, lord Sempill ; maister James haliburtoun, provest of Dundie ; and Alex^r hay, o^r seruand, w^t vtheris diuers.

" JAMES, Regent."

Indorsed { "Regent Murrayis obligatioun
ffor the suddartis det." }

From an eminence adjoining the field of conflict at Langside Mary witnessed the total defeat of her army, and immediately afterwards fled southward¹ to Sanquhar, and then to Terregles, the seat of her faithful friend Lord Herries. Having rested here a day or two she proceeded towards the Abbey of Dundrennan, near Kirkcudbright, where she again halted for a brief space. From this place she crossed the Solway Frith to the English coast, and put into execution the ill-advised scheme of submitting her case to the decision of Queen Elizabeth. During an interview between Middlemore and Mary at Carlisle, the English commissioner, following his instructions, demanded, in name of his royal mistress, that the Scottish Queen should prohibit her friends at Dumbarton from receiving supplies from France, in the event of any being sent northward. Mary, with greater spirit than prudence, replied, "That in case his Sovereign (Elizabeth) would not assure her of her assistance for the suppression of her evil and unruly subjects, she would go to the great Turk himself for help against them, and neither could nor would for-

¹ It seems to have been rumoured at the time that Mary had crossed the Clyde and taken refuge in Dumbarton Castle.—Letter from Douglas of Bonjedworth to Mow of Mow, May 15, 1568. State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xv., No. 20.

sake her faithful friends ; but if her sister of England would resolve to give her aid she would then promise not to seek it of other princes."¹

A few weeks after this interview Mary, having besought her "dear sister" to use her good offices in her favour, makes the following reference to the Governor of Dumbarton Castle, who had accompanied her in her flight, but, unlike his royal mistress, had been allowed to return to Scotland :—"As for my Lord Fleming, seeing that upon my credit you have suffered him to go home to his house, I warrant you he shall pass no farther, but shall return when it pleases you. In that you trust me, I will not (to die for it) deceive you. But for Dumbarton, I answer not when my L. Fleming shall be in the Tower. For they which are within it (Dumbarton Castle) will not forbear to receive succour if I don't assure them of yours ; no, though you should charge me withal, for I have left them in charge to have more respect unto my servants and to my estate than to my life. Good sister, be of another mind ; win the heart, and all shall be yours, and at your commandment."² MARY R."

The nearness of Carlisle to the border land of her own distracted country causing serious anxiety in meting out to Mary that protection so summarily solicited from her sister of England, not to speak of suspicious meetings among the old Catholic families in the north of England, she was, about the middle of July, removed to the safer locality of Bolton Castle, Yorkshire. This was the first decisive step taken by the English Court to dispose of her person against her will. On the eve of her removal, therefore, it is not surprising to hear that Elizabeth's minister, Knollys, has to record an outburst of temper on the part of the fugitive Queen :—"I require (she said) the Queen my good sister either that she will let me go into France or

¹ Miss Strickland's "Queens of Scotland," vol. vi., quoted from Anderson's Collections.

² Mary to Elizabeth, 5th July 1568.

that she will put me into Dumbarton, unless she will hold me as a prisoner; for I am sure that her highness will not of her honour put me into my lord of Murray's hands. I will seek aid (she continued) forthwith at other princes' hands that will help me—namely, the French king and the King of Spain—whatsoever come of me because I have promised my people to give them aid by August." The scene thus closes:—"And thus (saith she) I have made great wars in Scotland, and I pray God I make no trouble in other realms also, but if we detained her as a prisoner we should have much ado with her."¹

As it was of the utmost importance to the Regent that the Castle of Dumbarton should no longer be held by an enemy to his government, he adopted measures of open hostility and also secret negotiation to secure this important fortress.² About the end of December 1569 (says the "Diurnal"), "the maister of Grahame was send diverse tymes to Johne, Lord Flemying, being within the Castell of Dunbartane, and holding the same, to treit with the said lord touching the deliuerance of the said castell, and thai commounit thairvpone, bot culd not aggrie togedder vpoun the articles quhilkis my Lord Flemying desyrit. Vpoun the same day, the laird of Borg, and his freindis, convenit thameselffis togedder, and convoyit to the said Castell of Dunbartane in the mornying, certane key and laidis of meill, and thaireafter departed, quhairof my Lord Flemying was verry glaid; bot when the samen came to my lord regentis earis, he was havilie discontinetit thairwith, and wos verry angry at the capitanes and men of weir being then in the toun of Dunbartane,

¹ Wright's "Queen Elizabeth," vol. i. p. 286.

² In August 1569, Elizabeth commanded Murray to forbear from besieging Dumbarton, to which he replied that he was not then

engaged in such an undertaking. The Regent's secretary, John Wood, writing to Cecil, October 31, speaks of Dumbarton as being in great strait. State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xvi., Nos. 51, 53, 70.

that tholit the said furnishing to pass to the said castell."¹ In January 1570, the Regent proceeded in person to the siege of Dumbarton, and having carefully guarded every approach, reduced the garrison to such straits that, in accordance with the articles of war of the period, Fleming promised to surrender upon a given day if supplies did not reach him in the interim.² Before making such a promise the Governor seems to have been well assured that supplies were likely to be received from France. Nor was he disappointed. In a few days two large ships bound from France for Dumbarton arrived in Lochryan, and so far relieved the anxiety of the Governor that he refused to hold further parley regarding the surrender of the fortress. That the garrison was in great straits previous to these supplies is evident from Mary's letter to La Motte. In pleading with him to use his influence with the French king in her behalf, she proceeds:—"And if his own affairs will not permit him as yet to give me his entire support, I pray that it may at least please him not to allow me to lose Dumbarton for the want of munition and a little money."³ A calamity which soon befell the nation gave Fleming the required opportunity of turning the supplies to advantage. The Regent (as may be seen by the "Obligation" before referred to), was in Dumbarton early in January; he seems to have left about the 16th; on the 18th he was at Stirling, and on the 23d he entered

¹ The importance attached to the possession of the fortress of Dumbarton is curiously illustrated by a contemporary *jeu d'esprit*, entitled, "The copy of ane advertisement sent from the court to a friend of my Lord [Argyllis]." The "advertisement," which is said to have been the work of Thomas Maitland, a younger brother of the house of Lethington, purports to be the report of a conference held by the Regent, Lord Lindsay, the Laird of Pitarrow, John Knox, John Wood, the tutor of Pitcure, and James

M'Gill. Wishart of Pitarrow, speaking of the different strongholds in the country, is made to express himself as follows:—"To get Dumbarton, I wald nocht stik for geir, and albeit I shuld give als meikill as Sir James Balfour gat. Ane kyng seik and treasone may find land: An ye list ye may ay get your hand beyond my Lord Flemyng." --"Bannatyne's Memorials," p. 9.

² "Diurnal of Occurrents," p. 155.

³ *Dépêches de La Motte Fénélon*, vol. i. p. 376. "Queens of Scotland," vol. vi. p. 371.

Linlithgow, on his way towards Edinburgh. On proceeding up the High Street of that burgh he was shot at by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, and wounded so severely that he died in a few hours. As it was feared that the assassination of Murray might be followed by an attempt upon the person of the young King, the soldiers at the siege of Dumbarton were removed to Stirling, where James then was—a proceeding which, while it strengthened the garrison there, gave, on the other hand, the opportunity desired by Lord Fleming of receiving into the Castle of Dumbarton the supplies sent from France. In the excitement caused by the suddenness and atrocity of the occurrence, Bothwellhaugh found means of making his escape from Linlithgow, and was warmly welcomed by the Hamilton party, who, along with Argyll, held a convention in Dumbarton ten days afterwards.

After a troubled interregnum of four months' duration, the Earl of Lennox was elected Regent; but as the harsh treatment of Mary by Elizabeth had greatly strengthened the party professing attachment to Mary, to which Lennox was opposed, he felt it necessary to take instant steps for thwarting their designs and lessening their power. In May, active measures were in progress for besieging Dumbarton. The Earl of Lennox, writing to Elizabeth on the 17th, encloses an epistle signed by Lennox, Morton, and Glencairn, urging the necessity of besieging the Castle; and again, in writing to Cecil on the 31st, a kindred application is forwarded, recommending that Sir William Drury remain in Scotland, and attack Dumbarton.¹ Elizabeth appears rather to have desired a cessation of hostilities;² and with this view Drury was despatched from Berwick to Lord Fleming and the Bishop of St. Andrews (who was known to be in Dumbarton along with the Governor), with power to negotiate for

¹ State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xviii., Nos. 28, 42.

² State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xviii., No. 33.

an abstinence of arms. The interview was altogether of a most extraordinary character, and will be best told in the words of Sussex to his royal mistress:—"He (Drury) was answered that they would meet him the next day at a village half-way betwix Glasgow and Dumbertane. So according to that appointment Drury went thither, and finding no person there, went forward to Dumbarton, and sent them word before of his coming thither, because he found them not at the place appointed. The messenger returned with answer that they would come out of the Castle to speak with him, and therefore willed him to come on, with one or two that were with him, and to put away his company; which he did, and when he was within shot sent him word they could not come to him, and willed him to take to himself, for his time was out; and as he turned his horse did see the harquebusers (laid for the purpose) shoot at him, and they discharged a falcene at him out of the Castle, but he escaped without hurt, and returned to Glasgow."¹ Sussex was not long in making

¹ State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xviii., No. 45. This outrage on the person of an ambassador seems to have excited the muse of some writer not over friendly to the cause of the exiled Queen. The author of the following ballad is not known with certainty, but its subject and style place it among the set written by Robert Sempill, illustrative of public affairs about the close of the regency of Murray. Judging from its similarity to "The Poysonit Schot" and "The Regent's Tragedie," this "Treasoun of Dunbartane" may be more safely attributed to Sempill than any other writer of his time. The antiquity of the ballad is beyond question. A copy first transcribed for "A Lennox Garland" was made from the above mentioned volume of State Papers—Elizabeth, vol. xviii., No. 23. No. 24 is another copy of the same ballad, also in black-letter. The third volume

of the Roxburghe Collection of Ballads in the British Museum (the volume made up by the Duke himself) contains copies of six of Sempill's poems relating to the Regent, but the one now submitted is not among them:—

THE TRESSOUN OF DUNBARTANE.

In Mayis moneth, mening na dispyte,
Quhen luiffaris dois thair daylie obseruance
To Venus Quene the goddes of delyte,
The fyftene day befell the samim chance
The Generall raid with mony demylance,
Doun to Dunbartaine doand na man ill
Quhair furious Fleming schot his Ordinance
Willing to wraik him, wantit na gude will.

Mair I lament the great Ingratitude
Of cruell catiues kankirit and vnkynde,

reprisals for the reception his ambassador had met with at Dumbarton. In the same epistle he was enabled to announce that the noblemen who accompanied Drury had burnt the country belonging to the Hamiltons, with the town of Hamilton and the Castle: and, in effect, had thrown down or burnt the whole of the chief residences belonging to that family. In urging upon Sussex the necessity of assaulting Dumbarton, the Regent and his coadjutors seem to have been influenced by the opinion that the Governor would not only

Quhat part your schame to slay your man of
guile.

Lambert Manners maid and by your myght
Dependent Servants of the English kyngdome
As mix me blame and physing put me in
Ryght as the tre is rysted by the synde:
Covynous counsel must the tre be in

That basard Buschep had the greater bink
Lately expressed, I need not speak it here.
Thocht that he comit of the Royal stoke
The kyngs hous and als his chusing here
Goff natural kynnes could in the ager.
That has no cause to keep him in thy hous
For art and part ressetting him I fear.
Of thy mild Lardship has not left the acur

Much that are become Inglis men to fyde
Ther all this Realme upon their own
expens

For that vaine buble haustent by a pride
Crichte but cause and caryd by thy senses
That Service and vther vnt pryncesse
Dout that helth the machines of thy wittes
May keep some kind that shew our follies
Folles

Ne wail I wail God will reuenge that cause.

Of that was true, now truler may be spoken
Without respect to honour, life or landis

Bot not the first tyme that thy faith was
broken

Thocht be God be shapit of thy handis
Hathid thy treit as all men vnderstandis
Dessailid thou schot bot tyme or ressur.
Bot had not bene the slack was in thy handis
Wail had be payit you traitours for your
tressour

Covynous gets rebot of Synners send
Treasures to God and manesworne to the
Kyng.

Den all ye by your foule vndeclit deit
Betrasid strangers vnderstande us thing.
I put us doubt man for thy deit lading
To se vs shortly in thy place possesit
At euerie part a spail of the tre kyng
As traitours shuld for schetting vnder tress

Makidid Makidid, bot be that siew
Cwell

Of yit quhat made John Maydenock in
man!

And Turk are Jew, or that thy made
Cwell

To thy foule tressour treitly to compar:
Wail has thou leid it in the Bischoppis hand.
Forum his greuous broder in his hand
Of theu domys that was the deitair their
Never bot thou dar stoke a hand to hand

continue to make it a rallying point for the Queen's friends in Scotland, but deliver it over, if need were, to the French king, in exchange for the active support he continued to give to the cause of Mary. Lennox at least gives currency to a rumour of this description in an epistle to Cecil, written in August, and it is confirmed in

Praise be to God he skaipit of that chance
Ze plaid the knaiffis, and he the nobill
knicht

I hope in God or ye get help of France
Of better freindis to see ane blyither sicht
Our caus is Just, the king hes kindly richt,
Groundit on God and the foundatione laid
Thocht me throu murther mene to mount on
hicht

Thow sall he lyche doune as the Lord hes
said.

Ze saue yourselfis the Inglis men raid neir
For all your croking caait within ane Cro,
It is na Fables furth of France thay feir
Cum fra the Paip and the grand Prore to.
Thay haif your Quene in keping (quhair is
she ?)

Lang may ye luke or sche relieff your weiris
Ze will not wit quhat Inglismen can do,
Quhill Drureis bells be rounge about your
eiris.

Then sall ye cry for merci dune on your
kneis

Murnand for mercy, and able for to wys
it ;

Quhen ye luke doune to Wallace Toure and
seis

Sougouris of Berwick brekand vp your kist.
Thair sal ye se your bastard Bishop blist,
Out of his hoill weill houndit lyke ane tod
That bludy Bouchour cuer deit of thrist
Soukand the soules furth for the Sanctes of
God.

VOL. I.

For saikles blude and murther maid sensyne,
Gone is his grace, ye haif ane godly part of
him

Trewly my Lord, and I war in your lyne
The Deill a bit sulde byde within the yet of
him.

Wald ye go seik ane Secreit place weill set
of him

Cardanus pym weill closand in ane Spreit,
Pull me out that, thair is na mair to get of
him,

Bot as ane bledder blawin fra heid to feit.

In waryit tyme that Bischop hes bene borne,
Mars hes bene maister at that Balials byrth,
Throw him his friends ar houndit to the
horne

Baneist and slaine, uncertane of ane gyrrh.
Gone is thair game, and murning is thair
myrrh,

Thair cattell caryit, thair Granges set in fyre,
The worlde may se thair wisdome was na
worth

Murther left ay his Maister in the myre.

Now fair weill, Fleming, but foule ar thy deids
The Generall this Schedul at schort to the
sends

Thow sall heir ma nouells as farder proceids,
Bot not to thy sythment as sum men intends.
The actioun is not honest thow defends,
Gif thow be angrie with ocht that I reheirs
The narrest gait thow can gang seik amends
Is mend thy maners, and I sal mend the
veirs.

Z

the following month by Randolph, who, in mentioning the arrival of bullets and lead from France, speaks of a compact as existing between Fleming and the Grand Prior for the delivery of the stronghold.¹ The Regent therefore continued so active in his hostility to the Governor, that the latter, in an epistle dated at Dumbarton, the 7th of February 1571, brought under the notice of the Commissioners of the Queen of Scots the persecution he was being subjected to by Lennox, and the destruction to which his property was exposed by the party who supported him as Regent. Among the enormities perpetrated by Lennox, particular stress is laid upon the slaughter of the white kye in the forest of Cumbernauld, as "the lyke was not manteint in ony uther pairt of this Ile of Albion." Lennox, in reply, describes this as a "vane brag," the contrary being known to many. In another note of "Certain Actes done by the Earle of Levinax againes the tenour of the Assurance," he is said to have prevented the merchants of Glasgow, Dumbarton, and the neighbouring towns, from selling provisions to Lord Fleming for victualling the Castle. To this the Regent replies:—"Giff I had inhabite the merchandis of Glasgw, Dumbartane, and vtheris townis, to sell victuallis to the Lord Flemyng, for victualling of the kingis castell, withaldin aganis his hienes auctoritie, in that doing I had not violat the Abstinence; for that I did specialie require to knaw gif the lord Flemyng wald be content to be comprehendit vnder the promisse of the duke and tua erles, and neuer had yit ansuer of that demand. And for the lord Flemyngis awin behaviour, he hes nawise observit the Abstinence,

¹ State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xix., Nos. 16-43.

Richard Bannatyne, the gossiping secretary of John Knox, thus speaks of the supplies sent to Dumbarton:—"About the end of August, came from France, ane pynnace first, and after ane ship with that famous

ambassador, Monsieur Viracke, a notabill pyrate. With him he brocht some oranges, some reasins, some bisqueat bread, some powder, some bullet, and so, of onmigadardum, he brocht a maledictione to furneis Dumbartun."—"Bannatyne's Memorials," p. 53.

bot takin and reft the victuallis and guidis of all the kingis guid subjectis, travelling vp and down the river of Clyde, ane in the cuntrey; he hes banished diuerse honest men of Dumbartane from thair houssis, and hes dimolesched sum of thair houssis, with thair kirkis, to the grund, evin sen the Abstinence began; and thairwith maid new fortificatioun and building in the castell of Dumbartane; and yit, with all this, na contramand wes gevin to the merchandis, as is (beside the trewth) allegit in the said article, bot to sel thair guidis and victualis, in sic sorte as suld pleas thame, at their liberty."

In a letter of instructions from the Regent to Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline, then at the Court of Elizabeth, mention is made of no less than eleven breaches of the "Abstinence" on the part of Fleming's supporters, the first being the case of one Craik, a messenger, who had been apprehended at Dumbarton executing the King's letters, and afterwards conveyed as a prisoner to Dunoon. In their answer to the allegations contained in the Regent's epistle, the Queen's party seek to justify Craik's detention on the ground that "he passit to Dunbartane and thair maid execution of the Prince's lettres in that toun, quhilk is not nor hes not bene at any tymes befor at the Prince's devotioun, nor at the devotioun of any of thame that professis thair obedience for the quene; sa be this ressoun it seamys the Abstinence hes bene infringit be the complineis."

Kirkcaldy of Grange, the governor of Edinburgh Castle, also made complaints against Lennox, and even issued a challenge, offering to encounter any one who would maintain the truth of certain reports spread against him by the Regent. But the time was now approaching when the desire of the Regent, so far as Dumbarton was concerned, was to be fulfilled in a manner as unexpected as it was extraordinary. The achievement, indeed, for cool daring and ingenuity equals anything of the kind ever attempted. The following account of the enterprise is based partly upon an epistle addressed

by Crawford of Jordanhill to John Knox, and partly upon the narrative of Buchanan, whose writings possess an almost local interest, and who is likely to have been well acquainted with the locality he describes so accurately.¹

In March 1571, the Regent Lennox, while he was confined to his dwelling in Glasgow in consequence of a fall from his horse, had his desire for the possession of Dumbarton Castle gratified through the treachery of one of the garrison named Robertson, whose wife had been whipt for some petty theft by the orders of Lord Fleming. Eager to accomplish his revenge, the soldier communicated his

¹ George Buchanan, though not a native of the district embraced in modern Dumbartonshire, may yet be reckoned among the distinguished men connected with the Lennox by birth, as well as descent. He was born at Mid-Leowen (or as it is now called, the Moss) on the Blane, about two miles from Killearn, and situated, according to Buchanan himself, "in Levinia Scotiæ provincia," but now embraced in the county of Stirling. The founder of the family seems to have been Gilbert, "Senescallus comites de Levenax," who obtained a grant of the lands of Buchanan, and thereupon assumed that name. George Buchanan's father was Thomas, the second son of Thomas Buchanan of Drumikill, and his mother, Agnes Heriot, of the family of Traboun in East Lothian. His Buchanan descent connected him with the old house of Lennox. George's great-grandfather, Patrick Buchanan of that ilk, was a grandson of Isabella, Duchess of Lennox, by her second daughter, Isabella, who married Sir Walter Buchanan of Buchanan. Crawford, in describing his "Baronage" the descent of George from Robert second of Drumikill, refers to other two brothers—Robert and Thomas. Dr. Irving also men-

tions that George Buchanan's mother was left with a family of eight children, five sons and three daughters; but the family evidents do not clearly indicate the existence of more than three—Patrick, Alexander, and George. It has been stated by Mackenzie in his "Lives of Scots Writers," that George Buchanan was removed from the village school of Killearn to the grammar school of Dumbarton, and received there the rudiments of that classical knowledge for which he afterwards became famous. It would certainly be a pleasing duty for a local historian to be able to confirm such a statement: but, while there is nothing improbable in hazarding it as a supposition, it is but right to say, that after a careful search we have not been able to discover any evidence confirmatory of the statement. At the age of thirteen or fourteen, his maternal uncle, James Heriot, sent George Buchanan to prosecute his studies at the University of Paris, where he resided two years. For a full account of the career of this distinguished scholar, statesman, and poet, the reader is referred to the carefully written biography by Dr. Irving.

design of betraying the Castle to Robert Douglas, and even offered, if it were necessary, to be the first to scale the Rock. The offer being communicated to the Regent, the importance of the object strongly induced him to favour the enterprise, hazardous though it appeared; but as Robertson did not seem to be the safest leader that could be selected, it was thought proper to entrust the command to Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill,¹ a brave and experienced officer. As the truce recently proclaimed with the Queen's party expired on Monday the 1st April, it was resolved to put the scheme into execution that day, and employ the interim in preparing scaling ladders and other necessities. On the evening of the day fixed John Cunningham of Drumquhassil, who had been early made acquainted with the design, was sent forward with a few horsemen to intercept all passengers, and thus prevent any communication being made to the garrison. Crawford followed with his party on foot, and having reached the base of Dumbuck Hill about midnight, explained to them the nature of the exploit they were to engage in. He pointed out the warder Robertson, who had volunteered to ascend first, and made large promises as to the honours which would be conferred on him, and all who followed. The soldiers received the intelligence joyfully, and guided by a cord which extended from the first to the last of the party, they proceeded in single file across the meadow to the base of

¹ Jordanhill is on the north side of the Clyde adjoining Scotston, but within the parish and county of Renfrew. Crawford was a younger son of Lawrence of Kilbirnie, by Helen, daughter of Hugh Campbell of Loudon. He was taken prisoner at Pinkie, but afterwards liberated, and, like many other military adventurers of his age, found his way to France, and entered the service of the Scottish Guard of Francis I. Returning to his native country in the train of Queen Mary, he continued attached to her

interests till the murder of Darnley, when he passed over to the Confederate Lords, and afterwards, as indicated in the text, attached himself to the cause of the Regent Murray. Crawford was twice married—first, to Marion Colquhoun, daughter of Sir John of Luss, by whom he had a daughter, married to Sir Robert Fairly of Fairly, and second, to Janet Ker of Kersland, whose epitaph appears along with his own in the parish church of Kilbirnie. He died in 1603.

the Rock.¹ Though a convenient fog then encircled the upper part of the Rock, it was feared on the first attempt that all was lost. The height of the ascent compelled them to use ladders too long to be easily managed, and as they could not be fixed very firmly in the slippery rock, the weight of those who hurriedly ascended them loosened their hold, and several of the party fell to the ground. As no one was hurt, however, the alarm occasioned by this mishap soon subsided, and, fixing their ladders more judiciously than before, they gained a small jutting-out ledge where an ash tree had struck its roots. To this tree ropes were fixed, by which those below were pulled up while the advance party were fixing the ladders for a new ascent. At this stage another untoward accident occurred,—and one, too, which promised to be attended with more disastrous consequences

¹ Crawford's narrative at this point becomes singularly interesting :—"Now we had mony fowseis to pas, and ane deip water, brigit with ane single trie, afor we come to the castle ; and the foremost of vs buire the ledderis ; and swa we past fordwart. And becaus thei suspected nocht the heighest pairt of the craig, thair was not ane watche in that pairt of the wall aboue, within sex scoir of futes to the pairt whare we entered. We thocht it best to assay it at the same pairt, and swa we did, which is the last pairt, called the Beike. And when we had knit the ledderis of thriescoir of stepis, we wer yit xx stepis from ane trie that was aboue vs ; to the which trie the guyde and my self wan to without ledderis, with grit difficultie, taking coordis with us, and fesched the said coirdis at the trie ; and sua lating the coirdis hing doune to the ledderis, whairwith men mycht draw thaim sellis vp to the trie. And when we war at the trie, we had fyvescoir of faddomes to the rute of the wall, to the which we bare cordis in lyk maner. Be this was

done, day licht was come, becaus it was long of doing ; and thair we tuike one of the ledderis and brocht to the wall, whairwith we enterit euerie man. And the entrie of the first man vpoun the top of the wall, the watche that sate besyd saw him ; and immediatlie he cryed and waikened the place. And ane clud of myst fell about us which was litil lychter than the nycht : And thair comes out of sundrie houses of the place men runing naiked, swa that thair wes incontinent thrie slaine and sindrie hurt ; and sua the restis gevis bakis, and incontinent we wan thair artailyerie, and thair powder and thair bullates, and turned the samen to thaim self : wha yit keipit Wallace toure, the Whyt tour, with the Windie hall, the chalmer betweine the craigis, and the neather baillie. And als soune as thai saw thair owin artailyerie turned to thaim self, everie man tuike him to his schift ; and becaus the mist was so done thicke, some lap the walis and escapit, and vther some we gat as ye haue hard."

than the last, as day was now breaking, and it was almost impossible to screen themselves from the sentinels heard pacing above. One of the soldiers in ascending was so overcome by the perilous nature of the enterprise that he was seized with a kind of fit, and to the annoyance of his comrades held on the ladder so firmly that no one could either pass him or unloose his hold. But Crawford, ever fertile in expedients, caused the ladder to be turned round, and bound the unfortunate soldier to it in such a manner that, however terrified he might be, he could not fall on recovering his senses. Having by gradual ascents reached the highest part, or "Beik" of the Rock, Alexander Ramsay, Crawford's ensign, and two other soldiers, scaled the wall ; but being discerned by the sentinels through the fog, they were attacked with stones and other missiles, and seemed in great danger of losing any advantage they had gained. Ramsay, unused to this kind of warfare, leaped down among his enemies, and, though attacked by three, managed to keep them at a safe distance till the more advanced portion of his party came to his aid. In the meanwhile, the rest of the party had been industriously prosecuting their ascent, and on reaching the summit of the Rock their weight and struggles to surmount it made a breach in the old wall, through which they rushed, shouting, "God and the King!"—"A Darnley! A Darnley!" The garrison offered but a faint resistance, though they held possession of the three chief towers—the Wallace, White, and Windy Hall. Lord Fleming, making a quick descent by an almost impassable precipice, was let out by a postern-gate which opened upon the Clyde, and fled towards Argyllshire, from which place he soon afterwards made the best of his way to France. Among those taken prisoners were Lady Fleming ; Hamilton, Bishop of St. Andrews, who was found with his mail shirt and steel cap on ; Verac, the French ambassador, who had recently arrived with the supplies ; Fleming of Boghall ; and John Hall (or Herle), an Englishman who had fled to Scotland after Dacre's rebellion. Hamilton was instantly conveyed

to Stirling, and being deeply implicated in the murders of Darnley and Murray, was tried, condemned, and executed.¹ Lady Fleming was dismissed with many marks of the Regent's favour, being allowed to depart at leisure with all her jewels and clothing. With Verac there was some difficulty what to do, as a number of merchants accused him of plundering their vessels in the Clyde, but after a short confinement in St. Andrews, he also was set at liberty. In accordance with the command of Queen Elizabeth, Hall, who is described as "a person very seditious," was sent a prisoner to Berwick to give an account of his dealings with the Bishop of Ross. Boghall was sent to Stirling, and appears to have been the only one detained for any length of time. Various important papers were also found in the Castle, amongst others a memorial by Claude Hamilton of his negotiations with the Duke of Alva, relative to the expedition then preparing in Flanders for the assistance of Mary and the English Catholics—a document of which the sagacious Cecil afterwards availed himself to some purpose. Of the ammunition an exact inventory was made when Drumquhassil assumed the command, and a copy sent by Crawford to Knox along with the epistle before referred to.²

¹ This distich was affixed on the gal-
lows :—

" Cresce diu felix arbor, semperque vireto
Frondibus, qui nobis talia poma feras."

² Item, in the first, ane gross culvering,
monted for the wallis, and nocht for the
feildis, with xxiiij bullatis for hir.

Item, tuo batteris monted for the wallis,
and not for the feildis, with sufficient number
of bullatis for thame.

Item, tuo myons, ane monted for the
wallis, and not for the feildis, the vther
vnmounted ather for wallis or feildis ;
with sufficient number of bullatis for thame
tua.

Item, tua Bartenyie falcones, monted for
the wallis and not for the feildis, with suffi-
cient number of bullatis for thame.

Item, ane quarter falcone, monted for the
wallis and not for the feildis, with sufficient
number of bullatis for hir.

Item, ane dowbill barse of irne.

Item, thrie hacquebutes of fownd whole ;
and ane broken.

Item, ane singill barse of irne.

Item, threttie grit barrelis of cannon
powder.

Item, viij barrelis of harquebute of fine
powder.

Item, xvij calleveris ; of these, at my

This daring capture of Dumbarton, originating apparently in the most accidental manner, yet carried out with the most consummate skill and thoroughly decisive at the same time against the Queen's cause, was yet an almost bloodless victory. The assailants did not lose one man, and of the garrison only four fell, and these, it was thought, were slain in the confusion more by accident than design. Crawford received as a reward for his services a pension of £200 yearly from the revenues of St. Andrews, and certain lands on the Clyde described as Bishop Meadow, Blackstoun Barns, and Mill of Partick.¹ He was also permitted to bear the honourable distinction of a crest representing the Castle he had so successfully attacked. The grant of lands proceeds on a charter emanating from James Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow, dated 10th March 1573, but either through want of confirmation, or from a desire on the part of the King to confer additional honours on Crawford, his Majesty writes to the Captain in September 1575:—"I have heard sic report of your guid service done to me from the beginning of the weirs agains my onfriendis as I sall sum day remember the same God willing to your greit contentment. In the mein quhyle be of gud comfort and reserve you to that tyme with patience, being assurit of my favour."² In the royal grant the gift is said to be an acknowledgment "for taking by storm the Castle of Dumbarton, filled not only with rebels setting at defiance the king and laws, but also with provisions, warlike machines, and stores of arms, situated on the eminence of a very

lordis command, ane gevin to Harie Wedderburne, ane vther to George Dundass ; restis thair of, xvj.

Item, of speiris, heidit, and vnhediit lx.

Item, of culvering powder, thrie barrell.

Item, of victuallis left in the place at our entrie thairto, after my lordis departing :

Imprimis, of wyn, xx tune.

Of meill, twelff chalderis.

VOL. I.

Item, of wheat, ten bollis.

Item, of malt, viij bollis.

Off bisquite breid, xj hole hogheidis.

Item, of balcone, iiij whole puncheounes.

¹ Crawford's "Renfrewshire," 1772, p. 25 ; and Privy Seal Reg. xxxix., 92.

² Ratified at Falkland, 5th September 1584, and at Linlithgow, 23d March 1591.

A A

rugged rock deemed by all impregnable." Crawford is therein also referred to as "a prudent soldier, bold and expert in war."

Queen Elizabeth, on hearing of the capture, lost no time in communicating with Lennox:—"Rycht trustie and richt weil-belouit cousin we greit you weill. We haue understoud by report made to us as weill by o' cousin yo' wiff as by the laird of Buchleu suche thinges as you comitted vnto the chaarge of the berer heiroff y' seruaunt, speciallie concerning the Castell of Dunbartane wh^{ch} we are glad is returned to your possession and custody. . . . And tharfor we do hartlie wish that you may mak good choyce of such as shall have the charge undir you as it be not surprisit by fraude or corruption." Her Majesty then refers to proceedings connected with the Earl of Morton, and closes her epistle by a request that the spy Hall "taken in the said Castell of Dunbartane, may be safely sent to our Marshall of Berwick to be there deliuered and keped as prisoner until farder orders shall be taken w^t him, and we pray you to send unto us such information as may be had touching his un-loyalty."

"Given under our signet,
at our palace of Westminster, the xxij day
of April, 1571."



Lennox, writing from Stirling on the 1st May, describes her Majesty's pleasure at the recovery of Dumbarton to be "as great a comfort as I can wish;" and trusts "to use that house to your Mat^{ies} lyking and contentment as heretofore." Queen Mary, beset by spies, and anxious, no doubt, to keep up the drooping spirit of her

adherents, is said by Shrewsbury, in a letter to Burleigh, to have exhibited little concern for the loss of Dumbarton,¹ though it reduced the strongholds in possession of her friends to the single fortress of Edinburgh, held by Kirkcaldy of Grange.² Fleming, after his escape from the Castle, seems to have lost no time in proceeding to France, for on the 28th of May following he found means of entering the harbour of Dumbarton with supplies of men and money, which he obtained in that country. In the quaint language of the "Diurnal," "the fauourirs of the Queen wes ay awantand of the silver, bot not of men, and quhen thai gat the same, thai culd not spair the poore suddarte's wages, but sufferit thame to steill away ane by ane to Leith, for great hunger thai had."³ Within a few weeks after his arrival Fleming was accidentally wounded by a shot in the streets of Edinburgh, and died upon the 6th of September following.

The Hamilton party never forgave the Regent for executing their kinsman, the Bishop of St Andrews, and it is to this cause more than any other that the assassination of Lennox in Stirling six months afterwards is to be traced.⁴

The Earl of Mar succeeded Lennox in the regency, but after a brief tenure of power he was suddenly seized with sickness and died at Stirling in October 1572. His successor in office was James, Earl of Morton, who managed affairs till March 1578, when the united power of the Queen's faction, and the faction which professed

¹ State Paper—Scotland—Mary, vol. vi., 46.

² Kirkcaldy profited so far by the capture of Dumbarton, as to cause his men to form a ditch round the Castle, and cut away all the grass growing on the sides of the Rock, that no scaling party might hope to surprise it in a similar way.—"Bannatyne's Memorials," p. 112.

³ "Diurnal of Occurrents," p. 298.

⁴ Buchanan lamented his friend and coun-

tryman the Regent in a well-known Latin epitaph :—

"Regis avus, Regis pater, alto e sanguine Regum,
Imperio quorum terra Britannia subest,
Matthæus: genuit Levinia, Gallia fovit,
Pulso Anglus thalamum, remque decusque dedit.
Cepi invicta manu, famam virtute refelli,
Arma armis vici, consilioque dolos.
Gratus in ingratos, patriam justeque pieque
Cum regerem, hostili perfidia cecidi,
Care Nepos spes una domus, meliore senectam
Attingas fato cætera dignus avo."

attachment to the young Prince, compelled him to resign his important trust. The King, though scarcely twelve years of age, then took the government upon himself, and with the assistance of a council composed sometimes of one party and sometimes of another, sought to restore peace to a country which had long been distracted by internal feuds. John Cunningham of Drumquhassil, who still continued Captain of Dumbarton Castle under the new Earl of Lennox (Esme Stewart), was now mixing himself up in those cross plots which led to forfeiture of estates and death. As Lennox's lieutenant, he could not openly engage in any scheme which had not the countenance of his chief; and, on the other hand, his secret dealings with the English party were conducted in such a way that it was impossible to tell whether he would keep his engagements either with them or their opponents. Early in April 1580, Bowes ascertained that Lennox, aided by Drumquhassil and Argyll, had some intention of conveying the King to Dumbarton, in order that they might more effectually carry out those designs which the English ambassador had been instructed to oppose. "Drumquhassil" (he writes to Walsingham) "cannot well be charged with any desertion, for upon his charge to deliver the Castle, he wrote to me to know his master's pleasure in the same; and being thereto directed (as you know), I did persuade him to hold the Castle from the hands of Lennox, whereupon he was both put to the horn for the detention of the Castle, and also proclaimed rebel. Upon being again advised by me to render the Castle to the Regent, he sought, by D'Aubigne, to obtain protection for his life and inheritance. Yet I think that by good handling he may be drawn to stand to his former promises."¹

On the ground of Lennox's hostility to the reformed religion, the English party about this time took active measures for neutralizing

¹ State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xxviii. Bowes to Walsingham, April 16, 1580.

the favour which the young King was disposed to show towards this nobleman. On April 19, Queen Elizabeth addressed one letter to Bowes, instructing him to take steps for reducing the credit of D'Aubigne in Scotland, by supporting his opponent Morton; and another to D'Aubigne, in which, while reminding him of the jealousies that had arisen since his arrival in Scotland, she expresses her belief that his future actions will stop the mouths of his accusers.¹ The English ambassador now became busier than ever. In May, when Lennox was likely to obtain Dumbarton, he thought it right to write to Walsingham—"We can count upon men of note to remain at our devotion. Among the rest we think it convenient that Drumquhassil, if he continue captain of Dumbarton, and the Master of Marr, be of the number whom we would have you to put in mind to continue stedfast in their devotion toward us."² Even Morton is reputed as willing to execute a certain "platt" for the common benefit; but Bowes in this latter particular may have been speaking on indifferent authority, for in July, Morton, in writing to Elizabeth, declines taking part in matters which so highly concern King James without his knowledge.³ Still, he did not slacken in his hostility to Lennox. When the latter obtained Dumbarton during the King's pleasure, Morton took the opportunity of reminding Bowes of a former arrangement made between them, and even urged its immediate execution.⁴ Lennox, however, was not in the meantime to be baffled in his design. On the very day that Walsingham was pressing upon Bowes the necessity for Drumquhassil resisting Lennox in any attempt he might make to obtain possession of the Castle till Lord Scroop was before it, Bowes was informing Elizabeth of the apprehension of Drumquhassil in Edinburgh, and his agreement, under a bond of forty thousand pounds, to deliver up his charge to the Earl

¹ State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xxviii., 14, 15.

² *Ibid.*, May 16.

³ State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xxviii., July 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, July 29.

of Lennox or William Stewart of Cavers, who had been made Captain.¹

Walsingham now adopted bolder measures. Not content with instructing Bowes to warn the King of the danger attending his connection with Lennox, the Marshal of Berwick was directed to confer with Morton and others for the purpose of laying violent hands upon the King's favourite ;² but this scheme was almost immediately departed from, and in its place Bowes was instructed to operate upon the King himself, by imparting intelligence of a pretended scheme to exclude him from even the possibility of succeeding to the throne of England. Still neither remonstrance nor threats seemed to have any effect on James. In August 1581, he created the earldom of Lennox into a dukedom, to advance his favourite, and elevated him also to the office of Lord High Chamberlain of Scotland. With the exceptional case of Queen Mary's third husband, Bothwell, created Duke of Orkney, this was the first time the dignity of a dukedom had been conferred on any one not directly a member

¹ State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xxviii., No. 72, Aug. 27. When Drumquhassil resigned the command, an inventory (printed in T. Thomson's "Illustrations of the Royal Wardrobe") was made of the furnishings. A few of the items may interest the reader :—

Tuo "cattirts of found," mounted on carriages.
Tuo "moyens of found," also mounted.

Tuo "singill falcones of found," also mounted.

(Of these six pieces of artillery three were marked with the arms of Scotland, and the others with those of Brittany. The carriages of all were in indifferent order. For each description there was one chargeour or rammer, one moppette or mop, and an iron worm.)

Tuo haggbitties of crok of found stoppit.

One thousand balls for the artillery.

15 stand beds in various rooms, that in the

chalmer of dais being of eistland timmer with roof and pannel of wood.

3 forms.

3 stools.

1 iron chimney.

1 man-mill, complete.

A very few articles of furniture for the kitchen, bake-house, brew-house, peat-house, pantry, girnel house, and wine cellar.

1 great girnel to contain 16 chalders of meal.

6 bolls of meal.

3 bolls of malt.

1 puncheon of salt beef.

½ „ salt herring.

6 firlots of great salt.

1 puncheon of wine.

3 great barrels of ale.

² State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xxviii., No. 76, Aug. 31.

of the royal family. The imprisonment of Morton in Dumbarton,¹ followed by his execution in June 1581, tended not only to strengthen the Lennox party, but attached the King to them more firmly than ever. At the "Raid of Ruthven," the hostility with which the new Duke was regarded, had reached such a height that the confederated nobles openly declared the King must either dismiss Lennox or they would bring him to trial for some of his past misdeeds. Lennox, whose gentle disposition and discreet conduct are noticed by most historians, thought it better to comply with the demand than plunge the country into another war; and, therefore, with the consent of the King, he resigned his various offices, and left Scotland in December 1582. Presbyterian historians relate, with evident relish, the manner of his leave-taking. The Rev. James Melville, referring in his "Diary" to Lennox's departure, records that "he remained at Dumbarton at the West Sea, where (or ere) he got passage he was put to as hard a diet as he caused the Earl of Morton to use there, yea, even to the other extremity that he had used at Court; for whereas his kitchen was *sae* sumptuous that lumps of butter were cast in the fire when it soked [grew dull] and two or three crouns waired upon a stock of kale dressing, he was fain to eat of a meagre

¹ In March 1581, a remarkable interview took place in this fortress between Morton and Stewart, who, along with the Earl of Montrose, had been commissioned to bring him from Dumbarton to Edinburgh to take his trial. In those dark days (says Tytler, following the narrative of Spottiswood) many prophetic warnings hung over ancient houses; and among the rest was one which predicted that the bloody heart, the emblem of Douglas, would fall by Arran (See note *ante*, p. 51.) This saying Morton affected to despise, as the Earl of Arran was dead, and the Hamiltons, in whose family the title was hereditary,

were banished from the kingdom. James Stewart, however, had recently procured from the King the gift of the vacant earldom, though the news of his promotion had never reached the captive in his prison at Dumbarton. When Morton therefore read the name of Arran in the commission he started, exclaiming, "Arran! who is that?—the Earl of Arran is dead." "Not so," said his attendant, "that title is now held by Captain Stewart." "And is it so?" said Morton, the prediction flashing across his memory, "then indeed all is over; and I know what I must look for."

gure scoudered with strae." Before leaving Dumbarton, Lennox addressed a letter to King James denying the truth of the accusations made against him, and expressive of sincere devotion towards his Majesty.¹

The Duke proceeded first to England, and then to France. Even there his existence was a source of uneasiness to Bowes. In March 1583, he represented to James that a design was on foot among the Catholic princes to send Lennox back to Scotland, and secure, if possible, Dumbarton Castle in their interest.² Lennox died in May 1583, his fatal illness, it is believed, arising principally from excessive grief. During Lennox's residence in France, the command of the Castle (greatly to the annoyance of Bowes) continued in the hands of Captain Stewart. In 1585, when the Hamiltons were restored to favour, the governorship was conferred upon Lord John, second son of James Earl of Arran, who held it quietly till 1594, and with varied fortune till 1598, when it passed into the hands of Lennox's son, Ludovic, whom James brought over to Scotland, and raised to all the honours which had been conferred on his early favourite, Duke Esme.

From the close of the sixteenth century till the time of the great Civil War few events of interest occurred in connection with the Castle of Dumbarton. The very peace which ensued upon the union of the crowns, while it tended to mutual advantage in a general way, greatly lessened the importance of fortresses like Dumbarton, and may be considered as the commencement of an era in which many of our national strongholds were either transformed into simple residences or utterly deserted. So long as James remained in Scotland,—and even after he ascended the English throne,—he manifested in various ways his attachment to the Lennox. In the

¹ State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xxx., 74.

² State Papers—Scotland—Elizabeth, vol. xxxi., No. 47.

charter of confirmation which he granted in 1609 to the burgh of Dumbarton, special mention is made of the attendance of the burgesses on "our royal persons in all journeyings and huntings in these parts, especially in the island of Inchmurren," and their hospitality to the nobility and domestics who attended him on such occasions, as well as the protection they afforded to his peaceable lieges "from the tyranny and cruel oppression of a lawless and wild kind of men dwelling in the neighbouring mountainous parts." In December 1592, when the whole nation was excited by the discovery of a plot known as the "Spanish Blanks," King James addressed the following epistle to the Town Council of Dumbarton:—

"Traist friendes,—We greit you hartlie weill. We have thot meit heirby effectiouslie to desyr you that ye fail not to direct and have your commissioner heir upoun the xxviij dai of December instant, instructed to deale trulye wyth our dewties of the wyne and customes, in respect of the commissioun past be Parliament upoun the desyr of our burrowis, as ye will do us gude plesyr. Sa we comit you to God. From halyrudhouse the xiiij day of December 1592."¹

Addressed { "To or traist friendes
the Baillies and Counsell
of or burgh of Dumbartane." }



That the protection afforded by the burgesses of Dumbarton to the peaceable lieges, referred to in the preceding page, was a dangerous as well as difficult service is manifest from certain proceedings

¹ From the original, preserved among the Dumbarton Burgh Records. The command made in the above letter must have referred to a commissioner to some Convention of Burghs, not to a Parliament. The Parliament immediately preceding the date of the

letter was held in June of that year, and the next one in July, the year following. At the latter the local representatives were—for the barons, William Cunningham of Dumbarton; and for the burgh, the Lairds of Duntreath and Touche.

which took place before the Privy Council between John Campbell of Ardkinlass and John Buchanan of Drumfad. From the complaint submitted by Ardkinlass, it appears that "he being cuming to the burgh of Edinburgh, under his Majestie's protectioun,¹ and being on his jorney at Dumbertane vpoun the xxviiij dai of March (1593), accompanied only with four servandis, in peceable and quiet manner, he tuik purpose to hold forward his jorney that same nycht efter supper, be ressoun of the troublis quhilkis are in that cuntrey, lippynning for nathing les than ony injurie or truble to have been intendit agains him; notwithstanding it is of the trewth that John Buchanan, &c., being advertisit of the said Laird of Arkinlass' intention to hold forward his jorney that nycht, they associate unto thameselffis sindrie utheris, brokin men and fugitives, to the number of twentie-foir personis on horse and fute, all bodin in feir of weir, with lang hagbuttis, jakkis, pistolletis, and utheris waponis invasive, prohibite to be worne be the lawis of this realme and Actis of Parliament; and lay in ambushment in ane yaird, direct opposite to the gait quhairby the compleneris behovit to pass, of sett purpose and provisioun to have murderit him in his byecuming. Lykas Duncane Campbell, and uther of his servandis, being gangand a littil befor him, and the Buchanans suirlye believing that ane of thame had been the said Laird of Ardkinlass, thay dischairgeit ane dusane of harquebuttis at the saidis twa personis, and shot the said Duncane in the heid with ane of the same schottis; and thairefter cuming furth of the yaird, finding the said Duncane not to be deid, and still believing he had been the Laird of Ardkinlass, they schamefullie and barbarouslie

¹ It is possible that this was one of the occasions upon which Ardkinlass proceeded to Edinburgh to "underlie the law" for being concerned in the murder of his namesake the Laird of Calder. The trial excited an unusual commotion in Edinburgh; and from

the manifest danger of bringing in a conviction against him, the pursuer was induced to desert the diet, and the sureties were discharged. Campbell's chief surety was the Laird of Ardincaple.

manglit him with swerdis, and cut off his heid ; and then persaving themselfis to be disappointit, they scharplie followit the said Laird ; schott aucht or nine hagbuttis at him, and had not failit lykwayis to have slaine him wer nocht be the Providence of God he escapit." For this outrage Buchanan of Drumfad, James Buchanan of Blairlusk ; Archibald and Arthur M'Arthur, in Ardindowane ; John M'Kinlay, Dunstuge ; and George Buntene M'Indochy, servant, Blairlusk, were severally ordained to be denounced rebels at a meeting of the Privy Council on the 12th April.

For some years prior to 1595, the peace of the Highlands and Isles had been seriously disturbed by feuds among the chiefs whose estates lay in that part of the kingdom,¹ and to repress these the King in that year issued a proclamation announcing his intention of proceeding in person against that portion of his "proud, rebellious, disaffected, and disobedient subjects." As on former occasions, Dumbarton was the rendezvous for the force ordered out to accompany his majesty. "It being necessary," says the Proclamation, "that his hieness be weell and substantiouslie accompanyit with a force of his faithful subjectis, he ordanis all and sindrie earlis, lordis, baronis, fewaris, and freeholdaris, betwix saxtie and saxteen yeiris, worth in yeirlie rent the soume of three hundreth merks, to address thameselfis to meet his Majestie at Dunbarton upoun the fyrst day of August nixtocum weill bodin in feir of weir, with schippis, crearis, boitis, and uthir veschellis, to embark and pass forward to the said Isles for the space of fourtie days, under paine of tinsall of lyff, landis, and guidis." As the time for setting out drew near, King James, sheltering his timidity under the excuse that many of the

¹ The English Court seems to have been kept well informed regarding these occurrences by a spy named John Auchinross (servitor to M'Lean of Dowart), stationed

in Dumbarton from June 1595 to August 1602. A John of Auchinross is mentioned as a bailie of Dumbarton in 1494.—Acta Audi. Dom., p. 185.

chiefs had laid down their arms, forsook his first intention of proceeding to the Isles, and elected a Commissioner in the person of Sir William Stewart of Houston, Commendator of Pittenweem.¹ But there was a growing dislike on the part of the people to expeditions of this description, and at the time fixed for setting out only a fraction of the required force had reached Dumbarton. Another proclamation was therefore issued, announcing that, in consideration of the near approach of harvest and other weighty causes, certain counties might escape the burden of personal service if they sent twenty horsemen and thirty footmen to Dumbarton, or paid £24 for every horseman, and £12 for every footman short of their numbers. The burghs of the realm were allowed to compound by sending three ships of moderate size well supplied with ammunition, 500 men, one-third armed with muskets, one-third with pikes and corselets, and the remaining third with hackbuts and headpieces, or by paying a sum equivalent to what was paid by the counties for every footman provided by the King.² Even upon these improved conditions, counties as well as burghs were still slow in complying with the royal proclamation, and as the poverty of the public exchequer was one of the reasons for proceeding against the Islesmen, the King, it may easily be believed, was but ill prepared for supplying from his own resources the money needful to fit out the expedition. As a last expedient, it was about the end of September proposed to borrow £4000 from the Duke of Lennox, and that nobleman was further requested to go in person to his own county and compel 200 of his vassals to accompany his Majesty's Lieutenant to Kintyre. Early in October, Lord Blantyre, High Treasurer, was in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton superintending the preparations for the expedition, and from a letter addressed by

¹ Records of Privy Council, May to June 1596.

² Records of Privy Council, 2d August 1596.

him to the Secretary of State, it appears that the sum of seven thousand merks was then wanting to enable the expedition to sail. Before the end of October, however, this difficulty appears to have been overcome, for about the latter period, the expedition left the harbour of Dumbarton, and arrived in Kintyre early the following month. The interference of the Commissioner in the disputes between the Macdonalds and Macleans does not appear to have been attended with much permanent benefit, as in June 1598, the King found it necessary to issue another proclamation commanding an array of the shires of Dumbarton, Bute, and Renfrew, the baileries of Carrick, Cunningham, and the lower Ward of Clydesdale, and of the burghs of Dumbarton, Glasgow, Ayr, Irvine, Renfrew, Rothesay, and Paisley, to meet him at Dumbarton on the 20th of August following in order to proceed to the Isles. In this instance the King went so far as to name the particular vessel in which he was to sail, and even gave directions for its being properly furnished, but he justified the doubts of the lieges by again drawing back as the time for setting out approached, and appointed the Duke of Lennox to be his Lieutenant. As even a smaller force assembled than on the preceding occasion, it is doubtful if this expedition ever left the port of Dumbarton.¹

¹ Balcarras Papers, as quoted in Gregory's "Western Highlands," pp. 267-83.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONFLICT AT GLENFRUIN: ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES.



THE year 1603, memorable in British history from the Union of the Crowns, is also conspicuous in the annals of Dumbartonshire by various bloody conflicts between the Clangregor and the ancient family of Colquhoun of Luss. As a full and impartial history of the affair at Glenfruin is an essential part of any "Book of Dumbartonshire," some pains have been taken to collect together such documents as tend to throw light on the occurrence, as well as the circumstances which led to it and the extraordinary measures by which it was followed; while the object being neither to defend the Macgregors, nor apologize for the proceedings adopted against them, it has been judged proper, in most cases, to let these documents tell the story of the fray after their own fashion.

That the Macgregors for many years prior to 1603 were considered a disorderly clan, is not and cannot be doubted. In 1563 their excesses had reached such a height that Queen Mary, by an act of Privy Council, granted commissions to several noblemen to pursue them with fire and sword, and prohibited the lieges from receiving or assisting them in any way whatever. In 1589 the murder of John Drummond in the forest of Glenartney—a murder attended with circumstances of appalling atrocity—again let loose the terrors of the law against the clan; but to so little purpose that in 1594 the Macgregors along with the Macfarlanes, occupy the unenviable distinction of being the first mentioned clans against whom the statute for the punishment of "theft, reiff, oppression, and sorning," was

directed. It has been alleged that the extensive possessions held by the Macgregors in Perthshire and Argyllshire had been iniquitously wrested from them by the Earls of Argyll¹ and Breadalbane, and that therefore the clan was justified in treating with contempt those laws from which they so often experienced severity and never protection. But this allegation, even if correct, could have only a secondary bearing in their dispute with Colquhoun of Luss, as it is not even hinted that this family either shared in the plunder or abetted others in their attacks upon the Glangregor.

In order, no doubt, to strengthen their hands for purposes of attack as well as defence, the Macgregors, about the close of the sixteenth century, entered into alliances, offensive and defensive, with certain families reputed to be connected with them by "auld descent" or otherwise. One was concluded at Kilmore, on the 6th June 1571, between James Macgregor of that Ilk and Luchlin Mackinnon of Strathardill,² and another, twenty years later, between Alexander Macgregor of Glenstray and Aulay M'Aulay of Ardincaple. At a time when the Macgregors were a marked and even a proscribed clan, it is certainly singular that they were able to secure as an ally the representative of an old distinguished Dumbartonshire family. M'Aulay does not appear to have been mixed up with them before in any way. He was certainly at feud with the Buchanans, but it is not clear that for purposes of either gain or revenge the alliance was likely to advantage him in that respect, and a far less astute chieftain that Ardincaple must have seen that the connection would end (as it actually did) in a manner most disastrous to all connected with the

¹ In August 1546, Archibald, Earl of Argyll, appears to have slightly profited by the turbulence of the Macgregors and others. He then obtained a grant of the escheat of certain Macgregors, Macfarlanes, and Buchanans, concerned in the slaughter of

fifty persons, servants to the governor (Arran), at the Townend of Dumbarton during the siege of the Castle in July preceding.—Register Privy Seal, xx., 41.

² Douglas' "Baronage," p. 497.

turbulent Macgregors. The "Bond" drawn up between them was to the following effect :—

"Be it kend till all men be thir presents Letters, Us, Alexander M'Gregor of Glenstray on the ane part, and Awly M'Cawley of Ardingapill on the other part, understanding ourselfs and our name to be M'Calppins of auld and to be our just and trew surname whereof we are all cumin, and the said Alexander to be the eldest brother and his predecessors, for the qlk cause, I the said Alexander takand burden upon me for my surname and frynds to fortifie mentyne and assist the said Awlay M'Cawley his kyn and frynds in all their honest actions against quhatsumevir persone or personnes the Kinges Magesty being only except, And syklyke I the said Awlay M'Cawley of Ardingapill taking the burdand on me for my kin and frynds to fortifie assist and partak with the said Alexander and his frynds as cumin of his house to the utermist of our powers against quhatsumevir persone or personnes in his honest actiones the Kings Majestie being only except. And further quhen or quhat tyme it sall happin the said Alexander to have ane wychte or honest caws requesit to hayff the advise of his kinsmen and special frynds cumin of his house, I the said Awlay, as brenche of his hous, shall be redde to cum quhair it sall happin him to haif to do to gyff counsall and assistance efter my power. And syklyke I the said Alexander Binds and Oblisses me quhen it sall happin the said Awlay to haiff the counsall and assistances of the said Alexander and his frynds that he sal be redde to assist the said Awlay and cum to him where it sall happin him to hayf to do as cuming of his hous Provydin Always albeit the said Alexander and his predecessors be the eldest brother the said Awlay M'Cawley to haiff his awin libertie of the name of M'Cawley as Chyffe and to uplift his Calpe as his predecessors did of befor. And the said Awlay grantis me to give to the said Alexander ane Calpe at the deceas of me in syng and token as cuming of his hous he doying therefor as becomes as to the principal of his hous. And we the said parties Binds and Oblisses everie ane of us to utheris be the fayth and trewth in our bodies and undir the pain of perjurie and Defamatioun. At Ardingapill the xxvij day of Maij the zeir of God Jai v^e fourscoir alewin zeirs Before y^r witnesses Duncan Campbell of Ardintenny, Alexander M'Gregour of Ballmeanoch, Duncan Tosache of Pittene, Matthew M'Cawley of Stuk, Awlay M'Cawley of Darlyne, Duncan Bayne M'Rob, with uthers (Signed) Awlay M'Cawley of Ardingapill, Al. M'Gregour of Glenstre, Duncan Tosach of Pittene witnes, Matthew M'Cawley of Stuk witnes, Alex^r M'Cawley witnes."¹

¹ A transcript of the "Bond" is in the Register House. The above is taken from a copy (in the handwriting of the Rev. Macgregor Stirling) in the manuscript collection of the late James Dennistoun, Esq.,

now in the possession of A. J. D. Brown, Esq., Balloch Castle. Documents in this collection will be afterwards referred to as Dennistoun-Brown MSS.

The mischievous consequences of this "Bond" were not long in revealing themselves. Before the close of the year in which it was signed, the Secret Council were called to listen to a complaint by Buchanan of Culcreuch, that, under pretence of avenging the slaughter of certain of his men by the Buchanans, M'Aulay had conceived deadly hatred against the complainer, and, under colour of his Majesty's charge, had brought within the Buchanan territory a great number of Macgregor's men, all of them "broken men and sorners, to sorn, harry, and wrack the complainer's lands and possessions."

The cross feuds which distracted Dumbartonshire about this period, are further illustrated by the proceedings of the Privy Council regarding a "Commission of Pursuit" held by Galbraith of Calcruech, and whose hostility to the Colquhouns seems only to have been equalled by his hostility to some of their enemies:—

May 3, 1593.—Robert Galbraith of Culcreuch, be the speciall counsale and devise of George Buchannane of that Ilk, having purchaset a commissioun of Justiciary for perswit of the Clangregour, thair resettaris and assistaris, with fyre and sword, alsua containing charges for convening the lieges to concur and assist him in its execution: quhilk commissioun the said Robert hes not purchaset vpoun ane intentioun to attempt onything agains the Clangregour, bot vndir cullour thair of to extend thair [his] haitrent and malice against Alexander Colquhoun of Luss, and Allane M'Aulay of Ardincaple, thair kin and freindis, with all extremitie; and vndir cullour of sercheing and seiking of the Clangregour to assege thair housses and rais fyre thairin; quhairof he hes alreddy givin a sufficient pruffe, be the convocating of the haill name of Buchannane, for the maiste parte in armes (with quhome the said Allane standis vnder deidlie feid), and be quhais power and force he proceidis in all his actionis. And albeit thay ar na less willing to persew the Clangregour with thair haill power and force than the said Robert is, yet they dar nocht ryse and accompany the said Robert to that effect, for feir of thair lyveis; in respect of the deadlie feid standing betuix the said Alexander Colquhoun of Luss and the said Robert, throu the slauchter of umquhile Donald M'Neil M'Farlane, houshald servand to the said Robert, committed be the said Alexanderis umquhile brother; quhilk feid yet standis betwix thair houssis unreconsiliat, and the said laird of Culcreuch daylie awaittis all ocasionis to revenge the same; and in respect of the feid laitlie renewit betuix the Laird of Ardincaple and the Buchannanis, with quhais power, counsale, and

force the said Robert is assisted, in executioun of the said commissioun, using thair advise and directioun in all things thairanent; as alsua in respect of the grit grudge and haitrent standing likwayis betuix the said Laird of Ardincaple and the said Robert, quha haueing bereft his awin moder, quheme the said Laird of Ardincaple hes now maryt, of hir haill leving, he hes be ordour of law recoverit the same furth of his handis; for the quhilk caus, the said Robert seikes to have his advantage of him, hes geven up kindness, and denunceit his evill-will to him with solemne vowis of revenge. Vpoun quhilk complaint the kinges Majestie, with advise of the Lordis of his secreit counsale, in respect of the evill-will and inimitie standing betwix the foirsaidis pairteis, thair kin and freindis, and pairtlie for the slauchtir of umquhile Peter Colquhoun, committit be Johnne Buchannane, s̄heriff-depute of the said Robert Galbraith, be vertew of a commissioun, as he allegit, Exempts the said Alexander Colquhoun and Allane M'Aulay, thair kin, &c., fra all rysing, convening, or assisting the said Robert, in putting the said commission to executioun; and decernis the same, in so fer as it is extendit to the sercheing or seiking of the Clangregour within thair houssis, to be suspendit and dischargit simpliciter in tyme cuming.¹

The apologists of the Macgregors have frequently asserted that hostilities originated, not with that clan, but with the Colquhouns: but it is unfortunate for this theory that the earliest notices of the feud between the two houses represent the former as the aggressors; and some have even affirmed that between them and the Clanfarlane rests the guilt of the assassination of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun in his Castle of Bannachra in the year 1592.²

¹ Privy Council Records, as quoted in Pitcairn, vol. i., part 2, pp. 289-299. The commission to Galbraith seems to have been entirely cancelled on the 8th May, as he was then denounced rebel for not finding security in terms of the General Bond, "that he be himself, and all sic as he is obliet to answer for, should be answerable to justice and satisfie parties skaithit, under the pane of 2,000 poundis."

² In certain genealogical accounts of the family the assassination of Sir Humphrey is said to have taken place in 1595; but after investigating the subject, Pitcairn is of opinion that the true date is as quoted above

—1592.—"Criminal Trials," vol. ii. p. 431. We give the fact regarding the assassination of Sir Humphrey as it has been given by most historians who differ from the popular belief that he was slain at or soon after the "Raid of Glenfruin;" but in justice to both the Macgregors and Macfarlanes, it is but fair to state that an entry in the Diary of Robert Birrell, burgess of Edinburgh, goes far to relieve them from the stigma attached to the perpetrators of that outrage. Nov. 30 [1592], says Birrell, in his usual brief way, "John Cachoune was beheidit at the Crosse of Edinburghe for murthering of his auen brother, the Laird of Lusse."

In the introduction to "Rob Roy," Sir Walter Scott tells the following story of the origin of the feud between the Macgregors and Colquhoun of Luss :—"Two of the Macgregors (he says) being benighted, asked shelter in a house belonging to a dependent of the Colquhouns, and were refused. They then retired to an outhouse, took a wedder from the fold, killed it, and supped off the carcase, for which they offered payment to the owner. The Laird of Luss, however, unwilling to be propitiated by the offer made to his tenant, seized the offenders, and by the summary process which feudal barons had at their command, caused them to be condemned and executed. The Macgregors verify this account of the feud by appealing to the proverb current among them execrating the hour (*mult dhu an carbail ghil*), that the black wedder with the white tail was ever lambled."

If the dying declaration of Macgregor of Glenstra can be believed—and there seems no good reason for questioning his veracity—the feud was kept up, if not originated, by the artful machinations of Archibald, Earl of Argyll, who, in January 1593, obtained a commission for repressing the violence of "the wicked Clangregour, and divers other broken men of the Hielands," with power to charge "all and sindrie personis of the surname of Macgregour, thair assistaris and pairt-takaris, to find souirtie, or to enter plegeis as he sall think maist expedient, for observatioun of his hieness peace, quietness, and guide reule in the cuntrey," and, if necessary, to "persew and assege their housis and strengthis, raise fyre and use all kind of force and weirlyke ingyne" against that clan.¹ In these circumstances (says Pitcairn, whose valuable "Criminal Trials" throw so much light upon the "Raid of Glenfruin") it might be supposed that it was Argyll's interest, as it certainly was his duty, to have done all in his power to retain the

¹ Privy Council Records, Jan. 30, 1592.

Clangregor in obedience to the laws ; but on the contrary, it appears that from the time he first, as King's lieutenant, acquired complete control over the Macgregors, the principal use he made of his power was artfully to stir up the clan to various acts of aggression and hostility against his own personal enemies, of whom it was well known Colquhoun of Luss was one. It is therefore to be remarked as worthy of notice, that at the period of the conflict at Glenfruin, both parties were in a manner armed with royal authority—the Laird of Luss having raised his forces under a commission emanating from the King himself, while the Laird of Macgregor marched to invade the Lennox, instigated (it has been alleged) by one so high in office as the King's lieutenant.¹

With "Commissions of Pursuit" in the hands of leaders like Argyll, and subordinates like the Laird of Culcreuch, it is little wonder that the restless though brave Clangregor had recourse to desperate measures both of defence and retaliation. In 1602 their forays upon the lands of Luss became so frequent and aggravated that the King, upon complaint being made to him, issued the following warrant, dispensing in favour of Sir Alexander Colquhoun, with the provisions of the Act James VI., Par. i., c. xviii., anent the wearing of guns and other weapons :—

"We, vnderstanding that sindrie of the disorderit thievis and lymmares of the Clangregour, wyth utheris thair complices dailie makis incursions vpoun and within the boundis and landis pertening to Alexander Colquhoun of Lus, stealls, reiffs, and awataks divers gret herschipps fra him and his tenants ; likeas they tak greater bauldness to continew in thair said stouth and reaff becaus thay ar inarmit wyth all kynd of prohibit, and forbiddin weaponis. Thairfor, and for the bettir defense of the Laird of Lus and his saidis tennants, guidis, and gear, fra the persewit of the saidis thievis and broken men, we have given and grantit, and be the tenor heiroyf gevis and grantis licence and libertie to the said Alexander Colquhoun of Lus, his househaldmen and servantis, and sic as sall accompany him, not onlie to beir, weir, and shuitt wyth hagbuttis and pistolettis in the following and persewit of the said thievis and lymmaris,

¹ Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials," vol. iii. p. 131.

quhilk is lauchful be the act of parliament, but alas to beir and weir the same hagbuttis and pistolettis in ony pairt abune the water of Levin, and at the said Laird's place at Dunglas and landis of Colquhoun, for the watching and keeping of thair awn guidis without ony crime, scaith, pane, or dainger to be incurred be thaim thairthrou in thair personnis, landis, or guidis in ony manner of way in tyme coming, notwithstanding our acts, statutes, or proclamations in the contrar thairanent, and panis therein contentit, we dispens be thir presents. Given under our signet and subscrivit wyth our hand at Hamiltoun, the first dai of September, and of our reign the xxxvj year, 1602.

"JAMES R."

The privilege conferred upon Colquhoun and his retainers by the above warrant seems rather to have irritated than alarmed the Macgregors, for within three months the clan were advancing towards Glenfinlas, harrying and burning, and two months later again—in February 1603—eclipsed all previous excesses by descending in warlike array through the quiet valley of the Fruin. The two events have come to be described as the "Raid of Glenfinlas" and the "Raid of Glenfruin,"—the first taking place 17th December 1602, and the second 7th (or 8th) February 1603.¹ Glenfinlas is a valley about two miles north of Glenfruin, running in the same direction across the Luss territory, and equally open to an inroad from the Macgregor country by way of Lochlong. A band of about eighty, led on, it is said, by Duncan, tutor of Glenstrae, broke into the farm steadings of the Luss tenantry, and, in addition to much inside "plenishing," carried off three hundred cows, one hundred horses and mares, four hundred sheep and four hundred goats. Among the farms thus despoiled special mention is made of Edintagert, Auchintilloch, Finlas, and Midross.

In the early part of 1603, the Macgregors and Colquhouns are

¹ In his attempt to reconcile some apparent discrepancies as to the date of offences charged against the Macgregors, the author of the "History of Dumbartonshire" would seem not to have sufficiently distinguished between events recorded as having occurred

in Glenfinlas, and others as having happened in Glenfruin. The error has been pointed out, and the dates apparently put right by Mr Fraser in his "Chiefs of Colquhoun and their Country."

described by several writers as desirous of terminating their feud by a friendly conference, but with characteristic imprudence they each seem to have made secret preparations to follow up that conference with instant measures of hostility if its results were not satisfactory.

Judging from the records of the burgh of Dumbarton, the alleged peaceable intentions of the Macgregors do not appear to have made any strong impression on the burgesses. There can be no doubt that the following entry in the Council Book of the period refers to some contemplated attack, quite as much as to the ostensible "weapon schawing :"—

"1603.—8 Jan.—It is ordained that all burgesses within the burgh be sufficientlie furnissit with armor, and that sik persones as the baillies and counsall think fitt sall be furnissit with hagbuttis, that they haif the samyn with the furnitear thairto, uthirs quha sall be appointit to haif jak speir and steil-bonnat, that they be furnissit with the samyn, and that the Baillies and counsall on the xxi of this instant mak ane catholok of the saidis personis names with thair armor, and they be chargeit to haif the said armor redey, and to present thame with the samyn at muster, and this to remaine in all tymes under the pane of x punds, the ane half to the Baillie, the uthir to the use of the burgh. Item, that ilk merchand or craftsman keipand buith haif ane halbart within the samyn undir the pane of v punds. Item, that na burgess be maid heireftir without production of his armor at his creatioun, and that he sweir the samyn is his own."

As not the slightest record relating to any conference between the families at feud has been preserved, it is more than doubtful if it ever took place; and the allegation made against the Laird of Luss, that he treacherously attacked the Macgregors at its termination, is not substantiated by documents of the slightest value. Neither, on the other hand, can more credence be attached to the statement that the Macgregors on this particular occasion were the assailants. All that can be safely affirmed of the occurrence is, that about the 7th of February 1603, both parties, fully prepared for hostilities, met in the Valley of the Fruin, or Glen of Sorrow—a name singularly suggestive of the events of the day, as the victory proved not more fatal to the vanquished than the victors. The Macgregors came down as before

from their retreats in Appin, Lochaber, and Glenorchy, and entered the Glen at the head or west end from a rude pathway then skirting the shore of Lochlong. The Colquhoun men, who had apparently advanced on the Fruin by way of Luss Glen and Glen Mackurin, were first encountered, so tradition runs, near the farm of Strone or Auchengaich, not far from the source of the stream giving name to the valley, and well-known in more modern and peaceable times as a favourite resort for anglers.

Regarding the force by which each chief was supported, various contradictory statements have been made. Alexander Ross, the historian of the Sutherland family, puts down Macgregor's force at three hundred footmen; and notwithstanding the manner in which the clan was broken up, there is no room to doubt that he would be able to raise at least that number to attack such an enemy as the Laird of Luss.¹ But when the same authority states Luss's force to have been three hundred horse and five hundred foot, the assertion must be received with great caution, as it is not likely, even with the aid he received from the burgh of Dumbarton, that this chief could in a single district of the Lennox raise an army equal to what on some occasions obeyed the behest of the King.² His footmen are

¹ In the Luss Papers is a roll of "the nams of the Clannis that assistet the Clangregour at Glenfruin and Glenfinlas." Among those who figure there are :—Allane Don M^aAndow V^aallester in Glentym, John Moir M^aAndowe his brother, Angus M^aAndew V^aAllester in Glenav, Johne Oig M^aAndowe his brother, John Roy M^aAw, The Agalbuy Roy his servand, Ewin M^aAnelwheithe Cameron in Lochaber, Johne Bane his brother thair, Allane Cameron his brother, M^aCoull V^aNeter in Strafellen vnder Glenorchey, Patrik Darlyt in Glengyil, Angus M^aAndow beg. The aid received by the Macgregors is further illustrated by another

document in the same collection purporting to be "The nams of the Clancameroun vnder Strowane Robertsoun that wer at Glenfrune."

² From a case which occurred in an ecclesiastical court seven years after the conflict at Glenfruin, it is evident that Colquhoun thought he was but indifferently supported there even by his own friends :—"Presbytery of Glasgow, May 16, 1610. Quhilk day comperit Alexander Colquhoun of Lus, he lachtfullie summoned to this dyett be the synodall assemblie, to produce his witness aganst Mr. John Campbell his minister, that he was ane pairtie aganst him

not likely to have much outnumbered Macgregor's, and if any horse-men were foolhardy enough to accompany Luss to the scene of the conflict, the nature of the ground must have made their services perfectly useless. The locality was of the worst possible description for a fair trial of strength, but admirably suited for such desultory attacks as the Clangregor had been long in the habit of waging. The only wonder is how the Laird of Luss, who must have known the place thoroughly, ever ventured to encounter such an enemy in such a place. With great forethought, Allaster Macgregor divided his force into two divisions—one led by himself, which advanced against the vanguard of Luss's party; and the other, led by his brother, John Macgregor, who attacked them in the rear. The possession of the Glen was stoutly contested for a short time, but Colquhoun's force finding itself quite unable to contend with success against the enemy, commenced a retreat which was almost as disastrous to them as the conflict; for besides having to fight their way through the force led by John Macgregor, they were closely followed by Allaster, who, finding his brother slain, reunited the two divisions, and hung upon the fugitives to the gates of Rossdhu. Numerous stragglers who had become detached from the main body in the flight, were seized and slain without mercy, while the weak and defenceless who had taken no share in the conflict, were also sacrificed by the infuriated Macgregors. When the flight had terminated, a scene of murder, robbery, and destruction commenced, which finds

with Clangregour at Glenfrune. The said laird bene enquiryrit be the moderator, to wit, the bischope of Glasgow, gif he could qualifie that Mr. John Campbell was present in the foirnamed day as a pairtie aganst him? Answerit. He could prove that he wes upon the field, bot he could not prove that he wes aganst him; bot the said laird desyrit the brethren of the presbyterie to

demand sic interrogattar at the said Mr. John, quhilk wuld prove the said Mr. John to have been thair as a pairtie aganst him." This the brethren, for reasons given, declined, and both this charge and the charge of having made irregular marriages, appears to have fallen to the ground.—Register of the Presbytery of Glasgow, published in "Maitland Club Miscellany," vol. i. p. 416.

no parallel in even the bloody raids of that period. In the language of the indictment against their chief, the Macgregors seized six hundred kye and oxen, eight hundred sheep and goats, fourteen score of horse, set fire to the houses and barn-yards of the tenantry, and, in a word, carried off or destroyed the "haill plenishing, guidis, and gear of the fourscore pund land of Luss." In the conflict and retreat the Colquhoun party lost about one hundred and forty, while the Macgregors, it is said, did not lose more than two men—a slender excuse for the atrocities with which they disgraced their victory.¹ Among those slain while aiding the Colquhouns were—Peter (or Patrick) Napier of Kilmahew; Tobias Smollett, bailie of Dumbarton; David Fallisdaill, burgess there, and his two sons Thomas and James; Walter Colquhoun, and John Colquhoun, Barnhill; and Adam and John, sons of Colquhoun of Camstradden.

In addition to the slaughter in the open field, the Macgregors are accused of massacring in cold blood a party of students, whose curiosity had led them from their studies in the Grammar School of Dumbarton to the scene of the conflict in Glenfruin. Some doubt is certainly thrown upon this statement from the circumstance that it is not mentioned in the indictments against the Macgregors; but it seems not indistinctly alluded to in the record of the Privy Council proceedings against Allan Oig M'Intnach of Glenco, who, in 1609, was accused of assisting the Clangregor of Glenfruin, and of having with his own hand, there "murdered without pity, the number of forty poor persons, who were naked and without armour."² The

In that noble boat song, "Roderigh Vich Alpine Dhu," Sir Walter Scott thus alludes to the victory of the Macgregors at Glenfruin:—

"Proudly our pibroch has thrilled in Glen Fruin,
And Bannachra's groans to our slogan replied;
Glen Luss and Rosdhu they are smoking in ruin,
And the best of Loch Lomond lie dead on her side.

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Widow and Saxon maid
Long shall lament our raid,
Think of Clan-Alpine with fear and with woe;
Lennox and Leven-glen,
Shake when they hear agen,
'Roderigh Vich Alpine Dhu, ho! ieroe!'"

² The popular tradition in this case is said to be further confirmed by a ceremony observed annually by the pupils of Dumbarton

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Macgregors themselves do not deny there was a massacre of unprotected people who were present as spectators, but they impute the cruel deed to the ferocity of a single man of their clan—Dugald Ciar Mhor, or the Dun Coloured, who is said to have been an ancestor of Rob Roy. The deed is alleged to have been committed during the time of the pursuit; and on the chief of the Macgregors asking after the safety of the youths on his return, the Ciar Mhor drew out his bloody dirk, exclaiming in Gaelic, "Ask that, and God save me."¹

Hardly had the pursuit ceased and the plunder been secured, when vengeance in its wildest form was let loose upon the track of the Macgregors. The measures taken against them, from their very severity, often defeated the object they were designed to serve; and hence, in seeking to extinguish the clan and abolish the name, more was done to keep alive a knowledge of both, than anything the Macgregors themselves could have accomplished. Almost as soon after the conflict as the bodies could be stripped, Sir Alexander Colquhoun appeared before the King at Stirling, accompanied by the female relatives of the slain, each clad in deep mourning, and bearing aloft the bloody garments of their kinsmen. The idea of

Academy, and continued so late as 1757. On the anniversary of the alleged massacre, the scholars arrayed the dux of the highest class in the vestments of the tomb, and having laid him on a bier prepared for the purpose, carried him in the most solemn manner to the churchyard, where a mock interment was performed, and Gaelic odes recited having reference to the massacre. The novelist Smollett, however, and many other eminent men, who attended the school long prior to 1757, have made no reference to such a curious ceremony; and whatever truth there may be in the story of the massacre, it is more than probable this story of its celebration had an origin much later than the

middle of the eighteenth century. No reference is made to it in the records of the burgh of Dumbarton, though allusion is repeatedly made there to the other excesses of the Macgregors.

¹ In a note to this version of the story, Sir Walter Scott says he is inclined to place greater reliance upon a tradition current among the Clanfarlane, which fixes the guilt of the massacre upon a certain Donald Lean and his gillie Charlioch. It affirms that the homicides dared not return to their clan, but resided as outlaws in an unfrequented part of Macfarlane's territory.—Introduction to "Rob Roy."

this impressive spectacle seems to have originated—not with Colquhoun himself, but with some of his advisers, Sempell of Fulwood, and William Stewart, Captain of Dumbarton Castle, being referred to in the following epistle, written immediately after the “Raid of Glenfinlas” by Bailie Fallisdail, Dumbarton:—

To y^e r^t honowb^e Alex^r Colquhoune off Luss, y^e wretting in haist.

Ry^t honorable s^r my dewtie wyt service reme^{brt} plass you the lard of fullew^d and ye capitane thinkin that you ma[stership] adres y^eself wy^t als monie bludie sarks as ather ar deid or hurt of your men togitter wy^t als mony wemen to present y^m to his majestie in Stirling and to your ma[stership] to be their vpoun Tysday next for thai ar boy^t to ryd thair vpoun tysday quha will assist you at y^e power. The meitest tyme is now becaus of y^e french Imbasador y^t is wy^t his majestie. The rest of y^e opinion I sall cⁿ up y^e morne vpone y^e aduertisement. I haif gottine fra Johne Cunynghame of rois yo^r hundrethe markis vpone my obligatioun to gif him his obligatiouns and Donald Cunynghams. Sua aduertis me gif I sall bring y^e same wyth me. My Lord Duke is also in Stirling quhame y^e laird of fullwood and y^e capitaine wald fain haif you agreit wy^t presentlie and let actiones of law rest owir. Sua I end comitting you for ever to y^e lord. Dumbartane y^e Sunday y^e xix of Dec^r 1602. y^e awen for evir

THOMAS FALLISDAILL burges of Du^{bartane}.¹

The King, peculiarly susceptible of such emotions as this spectacle was calculated to produce, vowed vengeance against the lawless clan. By an Act of the Privy Council, dated 3d April 1603, it was made an offence punishable with death to bear the name of Macgregor, or to give any of the clan food or shelter. After this they were hunted like wild beasts, their dwellings were destroyed, they were loaded with every epithet of abhorrence, and every corner of the country was ransacked where there was the least possibility of them taking refuge. The Macgregors continued for several weeks after the conflict at Glenfruin, to hang about the borders of the Lennox in large numbers. The burgesses of Dumbarton, apprehensive, no doubt, of another attack, came to the following resolution:—

1603.—1 April.—It is concludit that the watching of the town nytlie be followit furth other and qⁿ it be dischargit be the baillie with advyse of the counsall to wit flour

¹ From original at Rossdhu.

sufficient men with armor and quha failyies being duly sent for be the officers to paye xl sh unforgiven, provyding that the pure widowis q^{ua} hes na servandes and uthirs pure anes in the toune be consideration of the bailie be not astrictit to watche and qutsom-evir personis being on the watche and fund negligent therein be the chak watche sall be wardit and put in the stokkis fra ten hours befor none qu^{an} ffoure efternone.

As it was the Earl of Argyll who was responsible to the Privy Council for the conduct of the Macgregors, to him was chiefly entrusted the execution of the severe measures adopted against them. Among the first against whom he directed the full force of his new powers, was Aulay M'Aulay of Ardincaple, who, as has been seen, so far back as May 1591, had entered into a bond of clanship with Allister Macgregor, admitting that he was a cadet of his house, and promising to pay him "The Calp." Proceedings were therefore instituted against him for having aided and abetted the Macgregors at Glenfruin; but as he was among the train of the Duke of Lennox in the King's journey to England to take possession of the throne, a seasonable warrant was issued by his Majesty to the Justice-General and his deputies, commanding them to "desert the dyett" against M'Aulay, as he was "altogeddir free and innocent of the crymes allegit agains him."¹ To other offenders, no such leniency was shown. On the 28th of April, Allister M'Kie, Gilchrist Kittoche, and Findlay Dow M'Lean, were "dilattet of certane poyntis of thefts" and for "cuming to the Laird of Lussis boundes in companie

¹ Jus. Court Books of Adjournal.—May 27, 1603. The following record of the agreement between Lennox and M'Aulay exists in the Records of Secret Council:—"Apud Dunfermling 28th April 1602. The q^{ua} day in pr^{es} of the kingis ma^{tes} comperit personallie Ludovick Duke of Lennox and Awla M'awla of ardincaple and maid the declaratioun following To wit the said Duke of Lennox declairit that the said Laird of Ardincapill wes ane of his speciall depend-

aris quhome he wald comprehend in the submissioun subscribit betuix him and the erll of Ergyll and promiseit that the said Laird of Ardincapill sould stand and abyd at his Majestys Deicreit and deliverance to be pronuncit upoun the said submissioun Lyk as the said Laird of Ardincaple maid the lyke declaratioun and promsist to stand and abyd by the said Deicreit but reclama-tioun."

with the Laird of Macgregour, and being airt and pairt of the murthour and reiff committat thairon" in February. Being found guilty, "the justice, be the mouth of James Hendersone, dempster of Court, ordaint thame and ilk ane of thame to be tane to the Burrowmure of Edenborough, and to be hangit vpone the galloise thair of quhill they be deid; and all thair moveable gudes to be escheit." On the 20th May, Gillespie M'Donald M'Innes Dow, Donald M'Clerich or Stewart, and John M'Coneill M'Condochie, were severally accused of being "airt and pairt in the lait grit slauchter and crewall murthour of sevin scoir persones in the Lennox, all friendis and servandis to the Laird of Luss; and of the thiftous steilling and reiffing of aucht hundreth oxin, ky, and ither bestiall, and herrieing the haill cuntrie;" and being found guilty, were sentenced "to be tane to the Castell-hill of Edinburge, and to be hangit thair on ane gibbet, quhill they be deid."¹ On the 5th of July, Gilliemicheill M'Hissock, and Nicoll M'Pharie Roy M'Gregor; on the 14th, John Dow M'Anevalich M'Gregor; and on August 12th, Dugall M'Gregor, and Neil M'Gregor Prudache, were dealt with in a similiar manner; but the most of these being merely the servants of leaders more actively engaged in the conflict, the Privy Council found it necessary to take still more stringent measures than they had yet done with those who had been entrusted with commissions to bring some of the chiefs within reach of the law. This is apparent from the following deliverance of the Privy Council regarding a supplication presented to them by "the gentlemen of the Lennox," who seem to have been afraid that legal proceedings would be adopted against them for having "intromittit with the guidis and gear of the Macgregors:"—

"At Edinburgh the twentie-fyve day of August the yeir of God 1603 years, Anent the supplicatioun maid and presentit to the lordis of his Majesties secret counsell be the gentlemen of the Lennox, makin mentioun that quhairefter the cruell and detestabill murthour and slaughter comitit be the wicked and unhappie Clangregour vpoun

¹ Pitcairn, "Criminal Trials," vol. ii. p. 415.

their kynsmen and friendis within the Lennox, His Majestie and the saidis lordis being movit with that crueltie, and finding that God culd not be pleasit, His Majestie reponent in honour, nor the country releivit of that ignominie and sclaunder quhilk it underlay sae long as ony of that unhappie race was sufferit to remain within this countrie; thair was thairfor ane veri memorabill and worthy course set down be his majestie and saidis lordis for the utter exterminacion of all that race; and commissiounes war past and expedit to that effect, the executioun of the quhilk commissiounes being for ane tyme delayit vpoun offers given in and promyses maid for performance of the samen; the said offers and promyses have now provin void and ineffectual as tending to nothing else but to ane plain mockerie of the saidis lordis, dysapointing of that guid course layd down againe them as said is whereof ye saidis lordis have had guid and sufficient pruff; and the saidis lordis having now resolved na langer to be eluded be thaim, and finding the first course and resolutioun laid down against thaim to be maist fit and expedient yet to be followit out and prosecuted, chairges ar direct for this effect against the hail personnes to quham that chairge was comittit, and the said Clangregour knowing thairfor, being in all their wicked actiounes maist subtil and craftie, sae they intend be craft and deceit still to frustrat and undo all that sall be intendit against thaim, seeing the commissioun direct against thaim is as weel with ye melling with their gier as for the pursewit of thair personnes, and for this effect they have sparpellit [distributed] thair haill guidis amang sum of thair friens and receivars in the incountry to quham they have maid similar assignatioun and dispositioun of the same; and have movit thaim to intend actioun against the saidis complainers before the saidis lordis for thair personall compearance to answer vpoun their wrangus intromissions with the saidis guidis; and intend sae to weary and fash the saidis complainers at all tymes with cuming to and frae to Edinburgh that they sall never hawe the lezir nor commodity to invade and perseu thaim conform to the said commission, thinking gif they onywise may be holden of, seeing they haiue maist speciall and chief interest in that actioun, that they wil find out some way to free themselves frae the rest of the commissioners, quhilk is the onely butt they shuit at; and for quhilk end thair persuits ar movit against the saidis complainers, indirectlie be thair freindis and favouers as said is, and sae gif they sall even be subject to thair personall compearance befor the saidis lordis to ansuer vpon thir matters the saidis complainers will be altogidder constrainit to neglect that dutie quhilk thai aucht to his Maiestie in thair efauld concurence against the saidis Clangregour. In consideration quhairof [and] maist humblie thairfor desyring the saidis lordis to pas and expedit ane act of Counsell in thair favor, and to effect following like as at mair length is contenit in the said supplicatioun, whilk being read, heard, seen, and considerit be the saidis lordis, and they riplie aduisit thairwith, the saidis lordis of Secret Counsell grant to the saidis complainers and every one of them, ane supersederi frae all persuit, criminall or civil, movit or to be movit against thaim or any of thaim for thair intromissions wyth the said Clangregour's guidis and geir quha are culpable and gweltie of

the attempt committed within the Lennox during the tyme quhilk ye commission granted against ye said Clangregour, and aye and quhile that service be put to impoint, and licenciates the saidis complainairs to adjoin to thaimselffs som broken men for perswit of that wycked race for quhaim the saidis complainirs sall be ansuerabill frae the daye of their entrie in thair service to thai [gang] furth thairof. Extractum de libris actorum secreti consilii s. d. n. Regis per me, Jacobum Prymrios, clericum ejusdem sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus. "JACOBUM PRYMROIS."¹

Notwithstanding the close manner in which he was hemmed in, Allaster, the chief of the Macgregors, contrived to elude the vigilance of his pursuers for nearly a twelvemonth. The Sheriff of Argyllshire, Campbell of Ardkinlass, attempted his capture by inviting him to a banquet, but detecting the trick before it was accomplished, Macgregor leapt out of the boat in which he was placed, and swam to the shore in safety. With the Earl of Argyll he was not so fortunate. Under the pretence that he would either obtain a pardon from the King, or convey him safely out of Scotland, Argyll managed to bring the Laird of Macgregor from his hiding-place; but, to use the expression of old Birrel, "The Earl kept a Highlandman's promise;" for he first marched out of Scotland with his guest as far Berwick, and then having satisfied himself that he had fulfilled the letter of his engagement, carried him a prisoner to Edinburgh. They arrived there on the evening of the 18th January 1604, the next day Macgregor made the following confession,² which, making due allowance for the irritation he must have felt at being entrapped by Argyll, will be found to give some explanation of the occurrences which led to the conflict at Glenfruin:—

"I, Allester Macgrigour of Glenstra, Confesse heir before God, that I have bein persuadit, movit and intysit, as I am now presentlie accusit and troublit for; also, gif I had usit counsall or command of the man that hes intysit me, I wald have done and

¹ From original in Luss Papers.

² The original of this paper (says Pitcairn, from whose valuable work we extract it) is preserved in the General Register House, and is in the hand of the then Clerk of

Secret Council, James Primrose. It is marked, "Presentit by Mr. Williame Hairt" (of Levilands), as an article of evidence of guilt at trial.

committit sindrie heich Murthouris mair ; ffor trewlie, sen I was first his Majesties man, I culd never be at ane eise, by my Lord of Argylls falshete and inventiones ; for he causit M'Claine and Clanchamrowne committ herschip and slauchter in my roun of Rennoche, the quhilk causit my pure men thereafter to bege and steill : Also, thereafter, he moweit my brother and sum of my freindis to commit baith hership and slauchter upone the Laird of Luss : Also, he persuadit myselve, with message, to weir aganis the Laird of Boquhanene, quhilk I did refuse ; for the quhilk I was conteno-walie bostit that he sould be my unfriend ; and quhen I did refuse his desire in that point, then he intysit me with uther messingeris, as be the Laird of M'Knachtane and utheris of my friendis, to weir and truble the Laird of Luss ; quhilk I behuffit to do for his fals boutgaittis : Then, quhen I was at ane strait, he causit me trow he was my guid friend ; bot I did persave that he was slaw therein : Then I made my moyan¹ to pleis his Majestie and Lords of Counsall, baith of service and obedience, to puneische faltouris and to saif innozent men ; and quhen Argyll was made foresein thereof, he intysit me to stay and start fra thay conditionis, causing me to understand, that I was dissavit ; bot with fair wordis, to put me in ane snair, that he mycht gett the lands of Kintyre in feyell fra his Majestie, begane to putt at me and my kin :² The quhilk Argyll inventit, maist schaimfullie, and persuadit the Laird of Ardkinlass to dissave me, quha was the man I had maist trest into : bot God did releif me in the mean tyme to libertie, maist narrowlie.³ Neuertheless, Argyll made the oppin brutt, that Ardkinlass did all that falsheid by his knowlege ; quhilk he did intyse me, with oft and sindrie messages, that he wald mak my peace and saif my lyfe and landis, only to puneis certane faltouris of my kin, and my innozent friendis to renunce their surname, and to leif peaseablie. Vpone the quhilk conditiones, he was suorne be ane ayth to his friendis ; and they suorne to me ; and als, I haif his warrand and handvrytt therevpon. The quhilk promeis, gif they be honestlie keipit, I let God be Juge ! And at our meeting, in oure awin chalmer, he vas suorne to me, in witnes of his awin friend. Attour, I confess, befor God, that he did all his craftie diligence to intyse me to slay and destroy the Laird Ardinkaippill, M'kallay, for ony ganes kyndness or friendship that he mycht do or gif me.⁴ The quhilk I did refuis, in respect of my faithfull

¹ Did my endeavour.

² This refers to the Royal promise of reward to Argyll, after February 7, 1603, for apprehending Glenstray ; which reward, as he had earned it, he afterwards received ; and it was confirmed to him by the Parliament of 1607.

³ Allusion seems to be here made to that escape from Campbell of Ardkinlass, hereditary Sheriff of Argyllshire, formerly mentioned.

⁴ In the Treasurer's Books, Nov. 1602, is the following entry :—"Item, to Patrik M'Omeis, messenger, passand of Edinburgh, with Lettres to charge Ard Earle of Argyle to compeir personallie befor the Counsall, the xvj day of December nixt, to ansuer to sic things as salbe inquirit at him, tuiching his lying at await for the Laird of Ardkin-capill, vpon set purpois to have slain him, xvj li."

promeis maid to M'kallay of befor. Also, he did all the diligence he culd, to move me to slay the Laird of Ardkyndlas, in lyk maner ; bot I neuer grantit thereto.¹ Throw the quhilk he did invy me grettumly.² And now, seing God and man seis it is greidenes of warldlie geir quhilk causis him to putt at me and my kin, and not the weill of the realme, nor to pacifie the samyn, nor to his Majesteis honour, bot to putt down innosent men, to cause pure bairnes and infanttis bege, and pure wemen to perisch for hunger, quhen they ar hereit of thair geir : The quhilk, I pray God, that thais faltis lycht not upon his Majestie heirefter, nor upon his successione. Quherfor, I wald beseik God that his Majestie knew the veratie, that at this hour I wald be content to tak Baneisment, with all my kin that was at the Laird of Lussis slauchter, and all utheris of thaim that ony falt can be laid to thair charge : And his Majestie, of his mercie, to lat pure innosent men and young bairnes pas to libertie, and lerne to leiff as innocent men : The quhilk I wald fulfil, but ony kynd of faill ;³ quhilk wald be mair to the will of God and his Majesteis honour, nor the greidie, cruell forme that devysit, only for leuf of geir, haueing nether respect to God nor honestie."

On the 20th of January—two days after his arrival in Edinburgh—Allaster Macgregor, along with four of his party, was brought to trial, and being found guilty, they were all executed the same day. The following record of the case has been preserved in the Books of Adjournal :

Curia Justiciare, s.d.n.,⁴ regis tenta in pretoria da Edinburghe, vigesimo die mensis Januarii, anno domini millesimo sixentesimo quarto per honorabilem et discretum virum Dominum Wilhellum Heart de Prestoun, Militem Justicarium [deputatem], s.d.n., regis curia ligittime affirmata.

Allaster M'Gregour of Glenstra, Patrik Aldoche M'Gregour, Williame M'Neill, his seruand, Duncan Pt.drache M'Gregour, and Allaster M'Gregour M'Ean.

Dilatit, accusit and persewit, at the instance of Sir Thomas Hamiltoun of Monkland, knycht, aduocat to our sourane lord, &c., off the crymes following : Forsamekill as thay and ilkane of thame, accompaneit with vmq⁴ Johnne Dow, brother to the said Allaster M'gregour of Glenstra, and vtheris thair kin, freindis, and of thair counsall, haifing concludit the distructioun of Alexander Colquhoune of Luse, his kyn, freindis and alya, and the haill surname of the Balquhannanis, and to herrie thair landis ; thay convenit to thamselffis the Clanchamrone, the Clanaverich, and dyuerse vtheris

¹ Ardkinlass, as appears from the Book of Taymouth, was Glenstray's near kinsman.

² Bore a great or mortal grudge at me.

³ Without failure or evasion.

⁴ Supremi domini nostri.

brokin men and soirneris. to the number of foure hundredth men, or thairby, all bodin in feir of weir, with hagbuttis, pistolettis, murrionis, mailzie-coittis, pow-aixes, tua-handit-swoirdis, bowis, darloches, and vtheris wappones invasiue, incontre the tennour of the Actis of Parliament : And, for the performance of thair wicked conclusioun, vpone the sevint day of Februare lastbypast, come fordward, in arrayit battell, to the Landis of Glenfrwne, pertening to the Laird of Luse ; quhair the said Laird of Luse, accompaneit with certane of his freindis, war convenit, be vertew of our souerane lordis Commissioun, to resist the saidis persones crewall interpryses ; and thair set vpone him, his kyn and freindis, and crewallie invaidit thame for thair slauchteris, schamefullie, crewallie and barbaruslie mureit and slew Peter Naper of Kilmahew ; Johnne Buchannane of Buchlyvie ; Tobias Smollet bailzie of Dumbarten ; David Fallesdaill, burges thair ; Thomas and James Fallasdaillis, his sones ; Walter Colquhoun of Barnehill ; Johnne Colquhoun, fear thair of ; Adam and Johnne Colquhounes,¹ sonnes to the Laird of Campstradden ; John Colquhoun of Dalmure, and dyuerse vtheris persones, our souerane lordis leigis, to the number of sevin scoir personis or thairby ; the maist pairt of thame being tane captiues be the saidis Macgregouris befor thai pat violent handis on thame, and crewallie slew thame : And tressonabillie tuik William Sempill and dyuerse vtheris, our souerane lordis frie leigis, and convoyit thame away captiue with thame, and be way of maisterfull stouthreif, staw, reft and away-tuik sax hundredth ky and oxin, aucht hundreth scheip and gait, fourtene scoir of horse and meiris, with the haill plenissing, guidis and geir, aff the fourscoir pund land of Luse ; and at the samyn tyme, tressonabillie raisit ffyre in the houssis and barnezairdis thair of, brunt, waistit and destroyit the samyn, with the coirnis being thairin. And the foirsaidis persones and ilk ane of thame ar airt and pairt of the saidis crewall, horrible and tressonabill crymes ; the lyk quhair of was nevir committit within this realme : Committing thairby manifest Tressone, in hie and manifest contempt of our souerane lord, his hienes autorite and lawis.

ASSISA.—Sir Thomas Stewart of Garnetullie ; Colene Campbell younger of Glenorchie ; Alexander Menzeis of Weyme ; Robert Robertsoun of Strowane ; J^{no} Napier fear of Merchinstoun ; Johnne Blair younger of that Ilk ; Johnne Grahame of Knokdoliane ; Moyses Wallace burges of Ed^r ; Sir Robert Creychtoun of Clwny, kny^t ; Robert Robertsoun of Faskeilzie ; Thomas Fallasdaill burges of Dumbartene ; Johnne Herring of Lethindie ; Williame Stewart, Capitane of Dumbartene ; Harie Drummond of Blair ; Johnne Blair elder of that Ilk.

¹ A John Colquhoun, younger of Campstradden, "underlies the law," along with two of the Macfarlanes, nine months after the conflict at Glenfruin. Here, therefore,

the indictment is probably in error, as it certainly is in another case, where it makes the Macgregors appear in arms against "Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss."

For verification quhairof, the said Sir Thomas Hammiltoun of Monkland, aduocat, producet the saidis persones Depositiones and Confessiones, maid be thame in presens of dyurse lordis of his hiens Secreit Counsall and Sessioun, subscriuit with thair handis.—The Aduocat askit instrumentis, (1.) Of the swering of Assyse, and protestit for Wilfull Errorr aganis thame, in cais they acquit. (2.) Of the sweiring of the Dittay be the Laird of Luse. (3.) Of the productione of the pannellis Depositiones to the Assyse.

Verdict.—The Assyse, all in ane voce, be the mouth of Johnne Blair, elder of that Ilk, ffind, pronouncet and declairit the saidis Allaster M'Gregour of Glenstra, &c. to be fylet, culpable and convict of the crymes aboue specifeit.

Sentence.—And thairfoir, the Justice-depute, ffinding the saidis crymes to be treasonabill, be the mouth of James Hendersoun, dempstar of Court, Ordanit the saidis persones to be tane to the mercat-croce of Edinburgh, and thair to be hangit vpone ane gibbet quhill they be deid;¹ and thairefter thair heidis, legis, airmes, and remanent pairtis of thair bodeis to be quarterit and put vpone public places, and thair haill landis, heritageis, annuelrentis, takis, steidingis, rowmes, possessiones, coirnes, cattell, guidis, geir, and sowmes of money pertening to thame, to be fforfaltit, escheit and inbrocht to our souerane lordis vse, as convict of the saidis tressonabill crymes.

The inhabitants of Dumbarton now enjoyed a savage kind of revenge in ornamenting their Tolbooth with the heads of the dismembered Macgregors :—

1604.—13 Feb.—The Baillies and Counsall of Dumbarton “concludit and ordanit that the Laird of Macgregor's heid w^t Patrick Auldochy his heid be put up in the tolbuith on the most convenient place the baillies and counsall thinkis guid.” [From another entry its appears that a sum of 24 merks was paid as part of the expense incurred in carrying this order into effect.]

1604.—17 April.—“Feiring the creuelteie of the tyrannous persons of the name of the Clangregor and fying of the toune be thame Thairfore it is statut and ordanit that the toun be devydit in aucht p^{ar} and ilk aucht pairt to watch ane nycht The watches to be armit and placit nytly by the q^{ue}m^{en}. chosen by the baillies. And quha keipis nocht watche according to the Baillies ordinance gif he bes at hame himself and in his absence ane sufficient man, to paye ffourtie ^{sh} for his disobedyances and the samyn to be payit to the watchers and that the baillies cheis aucht q^{ue}m^{en}. Item that na dwellers wth this toun ressaif ony straingers pair or rich wthout making the baillies foreseen undir the paine of ffourtie ^{sh} toties quoties, the tua p^{ar} to the toun and the third to the baillies.

¹ The gibbet on which Allaster Macgregor was hanged (says Birrel), “was | his awn hicht abune the rest of his friends.”

In April 1605, the Privy Council urged on the pursuit of the Macgregors by ordaining that whoever should present any of that clan quick [alive], or failing that, the head of any of them, should have possession for nineteen years of all the lands and goods belonging to such Macgregor, or a money recompense, to be paid by the landlords of the district.

As it is not intended to detail at length the trials of the other Macgregors¹ (seeing that nearly the same form was observed in each), it may be stated generally that from the number executed under form of law, and the still greater number slain as outlaws, the survivors in 1612 were described as "bot unworthie miserable bodyis." Indeed the "Raid of Glenfruin" seems to have been a last desperate effort on the part of the clan, for very soon afterwards Lord Fyvie wrote to King James that if all the great Highland clans were reduced to a like point, he "wald think it ane grait ease to the commoun weill, and to his Majestie's guid subjects in Scotland;"² while about the same time, the Lords of Privy Council state that the Macgregors generally are so impoverished that it is utterly impossible to extract from them what will pay the expenses attending their removal to other countries.³ In this, however, there is likely to be some exaggeration, seeing that for the servants of his Majesty to underrate the strength of the Macgregors was to magnify their own exertions in the way of

¹ The names of some of them may possibly interest the Highland antiquary. On Feb. 17th, 1604, there were tried and executed Johnne Dow M^eEwin M^eGregour, Patrik M^eilvarnoch, his man, Duncan M^eenham M^egregour, Duncan M^eAllester Vrek, Allester M^eEwin V^econdochie, Johnne M^eean V^egregour, Ewin M^econdochie clerich, Johnne Ammonoche M^egregour, Duncan Beg M^egregour V^ecoul chere, Gregour M^eNicoll in Dalveich, Johnne Dow M^econdochie V^eewin. On March 1st, Neill M^egregour in Meirie (Mewie), Patrik Gair

M^egregour, Donald Roy M^egregour, Duncan M^egregour, Donald Grassiche M^eCadanich. On March 2d, Malcolme M^ecoull clerich (M^echerich), in Innerlochlarg; Duncan M^eFadrik V^ecoull Chere, in Innerlochlarg, vnder the Laird of Tulliebardin; John M^ecoull Chere, in the Brae of Balquhiddier, and Neill M^eWilliame V^eNeill.

² Lord Fyvie to King James, 29th April 1603.

³ Lords of Privy Council to the King, 18th May 1603.

suppressing them ; and the following letter, written in November 1609, by the Laird of Luss himself, will show that however much the clan might be reduced in number, it was even then powerful for purposes of "thift, reiff, and oppressioun :"—

MOST GRACIOUS SOUERAIGNE,

May it pleas your most sacred Majestie, I have oft tymes complained of the insolence and heavye oppressioun committed vpoun me and my tenants and lands be Clangregour, and have bene forced to be silent this tyme bygaine, hoping that sometyme thair sould be ane end thair of: Bot now finding myself disappointed, and thame entered to their former courses, have taine occasione to acquent your sacred Majestie thairwith, beseeeking your Majestie to have pitie and compassioun vpoun us your Majestie's obedient subjectes, and remanent poire pepill quha sufferes, and to provyd tymous remeid thairin ; and that your Majestie may be the better informed in this particular, I here acquent your Majestie's secritar thairin, to quhois sufficiency referring the rest ; and craveing pardoune for importuning your Majestie, I leive in all humilitie in your Majestie's most sacred hands.

Your sacred Majestie's most humble and obedient subject,

Rosdo, the 13 of November,
1609.¹



In conformity with this and other similar representations, the Privy Council, as is apparent from the following enactments, continued to take active measures to extirpate the lawless Clangregor :—

Apud Edinburgh sexto die mensis Septembris 1610.

SEDERUNT.—Chancellor Thesaurar Wigtoun Lothiane Scone President Secretair Clerk of Register Advocat Kilsyth Sir Johne Arnott Sir Jedione Murray Mr. George Young.

Proclamatioun that nane transport the Clangregour over Lochlung and utheris loichis.—Forsamikle as the Kingis Majestie having given ordour and directioun for

¹ Original in Rossdhu Papers. In reference to the adulatory expressions used in this letter, it may be as well to state that they imply no particular subserviency on the part of Luss, but were merely after

the fashion of the time ; as any one may see who has the curiosity to look into the "Academy of Compliments," the text-book of the courtiers of the seventeenth century.

persute of the rebellious and barbarous thevis and lymmaris callit the Clangregour be quhoun the peceable subjectis of the incuntrey ar havelie opprest troublit and wrackit and the exectioun of the service being now in handis and some goode and happy succes expectit in that eirand it is verye liklie that the saidis thevis according to their wounted manner when as formarie they wer persewit sall have their recourse to the louchis of Lochlung Lochegoyll and Lochlowmound and thair having the commoditie to be transportit to and fra the saidis loichis they will frustrat and disappoint the intendit service agains thame Thairfoir the Lords of Secret Counsaill Ordanis letteris to be direct To command charge and inhibite all and sundrie his Majesties lieges and subjects awnaris of the boittis and scouttis upoun the saidis lochis That nane of thame pre-some nor tak upoun hand to transporte ony of the Clangregour thair wyffis bairnis servandis or guidis over the saidis loichis upoun whatsomever cullour or pretense under the paine to be repute haldin and estemit as favouraris assistaris arte and parttakaris with the saidis Clangregour in all thair thevishe and wicked deidis, and to be persewit and punist thairfoir with all rigour in example of others, &c., &c.

(Eo Diem)—Proclamatioun for concurring with the Commissioners agains the Clangregour.—Forsameikle as the Kingis Majestie and Lordis of Secret Counsaill having past and exped certaine commissions to some speciall barones and gentlemen in the Lennox for the persute of the wicked and rebellious theves and lymmaris callit the Clangregour be quhome the peaceable and goode subjectis within the Lennox ar havelie opprestt roubit and wrackit and proclamatioun being past and lauchfullie execute for chargeing of the inhabitants within the scherefdom of Dunbartane to concur with his Majesties Commissionaris in the execution of his heynes service agains the saidis lymmaris The saidis inhabitantis does notwithstanding refuse all concurrence and assistance with his Majesties Commissionaris sua that the executioun of his Majesties service is lyke to be frustrat and disapointit without remeid be providit Thairfoir the Lordis of Secret Counsaill hes declairit and be thir presentis declairis and ordanis That the escheitis of all and sundrie personis within the boundis of the scherefdom of Dumbartain quho sall refuse to gif thair concurrence and assistance to his Majesties Commissionaris fairsaidis in the execution of his Majesties service agains the Clangregour sallbe gifted and disponit to the saidis Commissionaris, and they sall haif warrand Commission and auctoritie from the saidis Lordis to mell and intronett thair-with and to dispone thairupoun at thair plesour And ordanis letteris of publication to be direct heirupoun whairthrow nane pretend ignorance of the same.

Apud Strivling ultimo die mensis Januarij, 1611.

SEDERUNT.—Chancellor Mar Lynlythqw Perth Wigtoun Scone Blantyr Burley Kilsyth.

The quhilk day in presence of the Lordis of Secret Counsaill Compeirit personallie John Erll of Tullibardin William Lord Murray his sone Hary Lord Sanct Colme S^r Duncan Campbell of Glenurquhy knyght Alexander Colhoun of Luss S^r George

Buquhannane of that ilk James Campbell of Lawers and Andro M^cFarlane of Arroquhair and undertooke the service aganis the Clangregour and promiseit to go to the feildis and to enter in actioun and bloode with thame betuixt and the xiiij day of february nixt and to presequute that service for ane moneth thairefter upoun thair awin charges and fra that furth the Kingis Majestie to beir the charges of ane hundreth men to assist thame and thay to beir the chargeis and expensis of ane uther hundreth men till the service be endit and that they sall do some notable service aganis the Clangregour afoir his Majestie be burdynnit with ony chargeis in this service. . . . The Lordis Ordanis ane missive to be written to Duncan Campbell Captane of Carrick to remove the haill boittis oute of Lochlung and Lochegoyll to the effect the Clangregour haif no passage be these Lochis.

The following enactment is probably unparalleled even among the many severe enactments against the Clangregor :—

(Jan. 1611.) Forsameikle as this rebellious and proud contempt of his Majesties royall authoritie professit and avowed be the rebellious thevis and lymmaris callit the Clangregour who so lang has continewit in committing of bloode thift reiff and oppressioun upoun the Kingis Majesties peaceable and goode subjectis, having most justlie procurit his Majesties havie wraithe and indignatioun and the force and severitie of his royall power to be execute aganis thame whilk his Majestie hes resolvit to prosecute whill thay be reduceit to obedience; yitt his Majestie in his accustomat disposition to clemencie and mercye being weele willing to showe favour to suche of thame who be some notable service sall giff prooffe and testimonye of the haitrent and detestatioun which thay haif of the wicked doings of that unhappie race and willbe content to leve heirefter under the obedience of his Majesties lawis, his Majestie knowing perfittlie that a grite many of thame who are now imbarqued in that rebellious Societie and fellowship haif rather beine induceit thairunto be the crueltie of the Chiftanes and ringleidaris of the same Societie then be ony dispositioun and inclinatioune of thair awne Thairfoir the Lordis of Secreit Counsaill hes promittit and be thir presentis promittis and promissis That whatsomevir person or persones of the name of M^cGregour who sall slay ony persone of the same name being of als good ranke and qualitie as him self and sall prove the same slaughter befoir the saidis Lordis That everie suche persone slayar of ane M^cGregour of the rank and qualitie forsaid sall haif ane free pardoun and remissioun for all his bygane faultis, he finding suirtie to be ansuerable and obedient to the Lawis in tyme comeing; And siclike that whatsomever uther persone or personis will slay ony of the particular personis underwritten They are to say Duncan M^cEwne M^cGregour now callit the Laird, Robert Abroch M^cGregour, Johne Dowe M^cAllaster M^cGregour, Callum M^cGregour of Coull, Duelchay M^cGregour and M^cRobert M^cGregour his bruther or ony utheris of the rest of that race, That everie suche persone slayar of ony of the personis particularlie abonewritten or ony utheris of that race sall haif ane reward in money presentlie payit and delyverit unto thame according to

the qualitie of the persone to be slayde, and the least soume salbe ane hundreth merkis, and for the chiftanes and ringleidaris of thir M^gregouris ane thousand pundes a peece; and that Letteris be direct to mak publicatioun heerof be oppen proclamatioun at the mercat croceis of Dunbartane Striuling Downe in Menteith Glasgow and Auchtirardour.

Forsamekle as the wicked and rebellious thevis and lymmaris callit the Clangregour who so long hes continewit in committing of all kynd of iniquitie and barbaritie upoun his Majesties peaceable and goode subjectis in all pairtis whair thay may be maisteris and commanderis, being now dispairit and out of all hoip to ressave ony favour or mercye seeing their awne guiltie consciences beiris thame testimonie and recorde that thair detestable and barbarous conversatioun has so far exceidit the limitis of grace and favour as no thing can be expected, bot his Majesties just wraith to be prosecute aganis thame with all severitie Thay haif now amassit thame selffis togidder in the yle of the loiche of Lochkitterine whilk thay haif fortifeit with men victuall, poulder, bullett and uther weirlike furnitour, intending to keepe the same as ane place of wear and defence for withstanding and resisting of his Majesties forceis appointit to persew thame; And seeing thair is now some solide and substantious course and ordour sett downe how thir woulffis and thevis may be persewit within thair awne den and hoill by the force and pouer of some of his Majesties faithfull and weill affectit subjectis who freely haif undertane the service and will prosecute the same without ony privat respect or consideratioun: Necessair it is for the executioun of this service that the haill boittis and birlingis being upoun Lochlowmond be transportit fra the saide Loche to the Loche forsaid of Lochketterine whairby the forceis appointit for the persute of the saidis woulffis and thevis may be transported into the said Yle whiche can not goodlie be done, bot be the presence and assistance of a grite number of people; Thairfoir ordanis Letteris to be direct to command and charge all and sundrie his Majesties Lieges and subjectis betuix saxtie and saxtene yeiris within the boundis of the shirefdome of Dunbartane stewartrie of Menteith and sax parrocheis of the Lennox within the shirefdome of Striviling be oppen proclamatioun at the mercat croceis of Dunbartane Striviling and Doune in Menteith, That thay and euey one of thame weele bodin in feir of weir awne defence and suirtie convene and mete at the heid of Lochlowmond vpoun the xij day of februar now approaching and to transport and carye fra the said yle, the haill boitis and birlingis being upoun the same to the said loche of Lochketterine, wherby his Majesties forceis appointed for persute and hunting of the saidis woulffis and thevis may be transportit into the yle within the saide loche vnder the pane of tinsall of lyffe landis and goodis.

Apud Edinburgh xxiiij Maij 1611.

The Lordis of Secreit Counsaill Ordanis letters to be direct to Command charge and inhibite all and sindrie his Majesties liegis and subjectis inhabitantis within the burrowis of Perth Striviling Glasgow Dumbartane and Inuernis be opin proclamatioun

at the mercat croceis of the saidis burrowis That nane of thame presume nor tak upon hand to sell ony kynd of armour to ony highlandmen bot by the knowledge and advise of suche speciall personis within every one of the saidis burrowis as salbe appointit to that effect be his Majesties Lieutennent, to the effect it may be cleirlye knowne and understand that the said armour is not to the use nor behoofe of the Clangregour as thay will ansuir upon the contrarie at thair heichest perrill.

Forsamekill as for the better furtherance and executioun of His Majesties service aganis the Clangregour it is very necessar that the housis of Inverdouglas pertening to [Andrew] M^rfarlane of [Arroquhir] and the house of Fatlipps pertening to Malcolme M^rfarlane of [Garturton] be deliverit to his Majesteis Lieutennent (the Earl of Argyll) to be keptt be him for suche space as he sall haif that service in handis, Thairfoir Ordanis Letters to be direct chargeing the said [Andrew] M^rfarlane and all utheris hauearis keeparis and detenaris of the said place and house of Inverdouglas and the said Malcolme M^rfarlane and all vtheris hauearis keeparis and detenaris of the said place and house of Fatlippis, To rander and delyuer the same to the said Lieutennent or ony in his name haueand his pouer to ressaue the same, and to remove thamselffis and thair seruandis furth thairof within sax houris nixt efter the charge vnder the pane of rebellioun &c. And yf thay failyee &c. to denunce &c.

Ane speciall overture for the transplanting the bairns of the Clangregour.—Item fyrst: The haill bairns that are past xij yearis auld to be sent to Ireland be your lordships warrant to sic settlement as your lordships thinks metest that dwells thair, be whose advyce thair name be changit and maid hirdes, and thair to remain under pain of dede.

As anent those that ar wythin xij yearis auld that they be your lordships warrant be transplanted besouth the waters of Forth and Clyde, conform to his Maiesties will to Justices of Peace of these boundis at thair next general meeting whilk is the fyrst Tyesday of Feb.; and be thair advyce to be placed and sustenit in tounes and parochinis and thair name changit, and thair to remain vnder pain of dede; with power to the said Justices of Peace to give and allow ane fyne to everi ilk ane of these for the help of thair sustenance; and when they come to xij yearis, that they be transplanted to Ireland.¹

On the 3d May 1613, the Chancellor (Alexander Fyvie), Earl of Dunfermline, transmitted the following epistle to the Laird of Luss:—

“Traist frien, efter oure heartie commendaticuns the Laird of Lundy, quha had the chaarge and buirden of the services against the Clangregour now in the absence of the Earll of Argyll, his brither, furth of the realm, being desyrous to give in ane

¹ Original overture in Rossdhu Papers.

accompt of his proceedings in that service and quhat rests as yet unperfeyted thair of, the Counsell have assynet into him the fyfteen daie of June, nixtocum for making of this accompt; and quhairas it is verie requisitie and expedient that such noblemen baronis and gentlemen as dwalls in the countries west to the Clangregour, and ar landlordis vnto thaim be present at this accomptmakin, to the effect they may inform his Maiesties Counsell of all such questionis as mai result and be moved vpoun that accompt; These air thairfore to request and desyre you to address yourself here gin said day to assist his Maiesties Counsell be your advice, counsell, and informatioun, in everi sic thing as sall be proponed at the makin of that accompt. We look that the erll of Argyll hym self will be present at the makin of this accompt, and thairfore your presence and advice thairin is so much the more necessary and expedient; and sae resting assured of zour keeping of this dyat as you respect his Maiesties obedience, the weel of that service, and peace of that countrie, we comit you to God. From Edinburgh, the third day of Maij 1613.

"Your veri guid freindis,

"AL. CANCELL^r.

"JO. PRESTOUN.

"To our richt traist frien the Laird of Lus."¹

From the minute of the Privy Council meeting of 8th July 1613, it appears that the Earl of Argyll was present and offered to the King £22, 10s. out of every hundred pounds of the fines exacted from those who had aided any of the Clangregor. It is also stated, "The landislardis of the Clangregor who should have taine the bairnes of the clan off the Laird of Laweris hands," had "failzied in that poynt, and thairfore charges are directed againes thame for payment to Lawers of the soume of tuentie marks out of everye merk land pertening to thame, and formerly possesit by the Clangregour." Within a few weeks of the date of the Chancellor's letter to Luss, several of the Macgregors seem to have fallen into the toils prepared for them by the Council. In a document among the Luss Papers bearing to be "The namis of the Clangregours that ar outlawis and hes nocht fund cautioun," there is appended to no less than four of them the expressive memorandum, "hangit the xxij of June, 1613." Their names were—Eune Cowbroche, Allester,

¹ Original in Rossdhu Papers.

bastard son to John Graham, Duncan M'Phatrick, and John Dow M'Condochie. On the last day of November 1613, the Council arranged that the landlords should not be called upon to pay any contribution, provided they took the Clangregor bairns according to the proportion of their lands, and made them forthcoming when called for until they were eighteen years of age, when they were to be exhibited to the Privy Council and their subsequent fate decided upon. If any of these unfortunate creatures happened to escape from his keeper and be recaptured, the child so escaping, if under fourteen, was to be scourged and burnt on the cheek for the first attempt, and hanged for the second. If above fourteen, they were to be hanged at once without further ceremony.¹

Seven years after this period, the Council are still busy framing arbitrary enactments against the Macgregors:—

Apud Edinburgh 29 Augusti 1621.

Certane Articles gevin in to the Lordis of Secreit Counsaill for preventing of the appeirand troublis lyke to be raised be the Clangregour to the disturbance of his Majesties peace and disquieting of the Cuntrey.

This article aggregit unto.—Quhairas thair is a new broode and generatioun of this clan rissin up quhilk daylie incressis in nomber and force and ar begun to haif thair meitingis and gois in troupis athorte the cuntrey armed with all offensive weaponis and some of the ringleaderis of thame who anes gave their obedyence and fund cautioun ar brokin louse and hes committit sundrie disordouris in the cuntrey as namelie upoun the Duke of Lennox and Laird of Craigcrosten That thairfor the former Act maid aganis suche of the Clangregour as were at Glenfroone and at the heirshippis and burning of the landis pertening to the Lairdis of Glenurquhy and Luss and Coline Campbell of Abirurquhill That they sould weare no armoure but a pointles knyffe to cutt thair meate be renewit with this additioun That the said act be extendit againis the whole name.

Proclamatioun aganis the Clangregour.—Forsamekle as the Kingis Majestie haveing tane grite panes and travels and bestowit grite chargeis and expenssis for suppressing of the insolencyis of the lawles lymmaris of the Clan quhilk formarie wes callit Clangregour and for reducing of thame to obedience And his Majestie in his

¹ State Papers of the reign of James VI. (Abbotsford Club) ; note to p. xix.

just wraithe and indignatioun aganis that whole raice haveing abolischit the name thairof as most infamous and not worthie to be hard of in a cuntrey subject to a Prince who is armed with majestie power and force to execute vengeance upoun suche wretched and miserable catives as dar presooome to lift thair headis and to offend aganis his Majestie and his lawis quhairof a grite number of the principall ringleaderis of that Clan hes found the prooffe bycondigne punishement whilk hes been execute upoun thame according to thair demeritis In the executioun quhairof althoght hes Majestie hes had verie goode ressoun to haif gone forduart till the whole personis of that clan had bene totalie extirpat and rooted oute, Yitt his Majestie oute of his accustomat naturall dispositioun and inclinatioun to clemencie and mercie was gratiouuslie pleasit to ressave a number of thame to mercye after that they had renunceit thair names and fund cautioun for thair future obedience sua that for some certane yeiris thaireftir thay wer quiet and litle or no din wes hard of thame, till now of laite that some of thame who had taisted of his Majesties clemencie and mercie as namylie Robert Abroche, Duncane Allaster, Patrik Donald, and Johnne M*Gregouris, sonis to umquhile Patrik Aldoche M*Gregour being most unworthie of the favour and mercye showne unto thame and being weyrede of the presente state and quietnes whilk his Majestie by the pouer and strenthe of his Royall auctoritie hes established throughoute all the cornaris of the kingdome, preferring the beastlie trade of bloode thift reif and oppressioun wherin unhappilie they war brocht up to law and justice Thay haif brokin lowse and hes associat unto thame a number of the young broode of that clan who ar now rissin up, And with thame they go in troupris and companyis athorte the cuntrey armed with bowis darlochis hacquebutis pistollettis and other armour committing a number of insolencyis upoun his Majesteis goode subjectis in all pairtis quhair thay be maisteris And thay do quhat in thame lysis to steir up the whole clan to a new rebelloun, heighlie to his Majesties offens and contempt and hurte of his goode subjectis: And quhairas the libertie whilk thir unworthie lymmaris hes tane to weare armour and the ressett supplee and conforte quhilk thay find in some pairtis of the cuntrey hes encouraged thame to brek oute in thir disordouris THAIRFOIR his Majestie with advise of the Lordis of his Secreit Counsell his Statute and ordanit That no persone nor personis quhatsoever who ar callit M*Gregouris and who keepis that name and professis and avowis thameselffis to be of that name shall at no tyme heirefter beare nor weare ony armour bot ane pointles knyffe to cutt thair meate under the pane of deade quhilk pane salbe execute upoun thame who salhappin to contraveene without favour or mercy And quhairas the said Robert Abroche and the saidis Duncane Allaster Patrik Donald and Johnne M*Gregouris sones to Patrik Aldoche ar the cheif and principall ringleadaris in thir new disordouris and drawis after thame numberis of simple ignorant people who ar rather induceit by thair crueltie nor moved by ony inclinatioun or dispositioun of thair awne to assist and tak pairt with thame sua that they haif forfeyte the favour that wes showne unto thame and hes involved thame selffis in new mischeiffis and trouble worthie of most exemplair and seveir punishement

Thairfore his Majestie with advise foirsaid promissis and declairis be thir presentis That quhatsoever persone or personis will tak apprehend and present to the saidis Lordis any of the personis particularlie aboune named and failyeing of thame thair headis, That every suche person or personis takaris apprehendaris and presentaris of the lymmaris foirsaidis or any of thame sall heif the whole goodis and gear with the escheit of the personis so tane apprehendit and presentit freelie disponit unto thame to be used be thame as thair awne proper goodis in tyme comeing And ordaines letteris to be direct to mak publicatioun heirof be oppin proclamatioun at the mercat croceis of Perth Dunkeld Strivling Dunbartane and otheris placeis neidfull quhairthrow nane pretend ignorance of the same, And to Command charge and inhibite all his Majesteis saidis leigis and subjectis That nane of thame presooome nor tak upoun hand to ressett supplee nor Intercommoune with the personis particularlie above named thair followaris assisteris and part takaris nor furneis thame meat drink house harborie nor to sell thame poulder bullett victuall armour nor no other thing comfortable unto thame nor haif intelligence with thame be worde write nor message Bot that they showte thame and raise the fray quhairver thay see thame, hunt, follow and persew thame as theewis and tratouris to God thair Prince and Cuntrey Certifieing thame that sall do in the contrair That they sallbe persewit and punist in thair personis and fyned in thair goodis with all rigour at the arbitrement of his Majesties Counsell And sicklyke to command and charge all Sheriffis Stuartis and Magistratis of burgh and land and all Justices of peace to tak and apprehend all suche personis who professis and avowis thameselffis to be M^cGregouris and keepis that name as thay sall find thame to carye beare and weare any kind of armour bot ane pointles knyffe to cutt thair meate And to present thame to Justice to the effect the said pane may be inflicted upoun thame as thay will ansuer to his Majesties Counsell upoun the dewtifull discharge of thair officeis.¹

The severe enactments against the Clangregor were continued till the commencement of the reign of Charles II., when in consequence of the firm attachment they had exhibited to the cause of his misguided father, he passed an Act restoring to them the full use of their family name, and all the other privileges of liege subjects. In 1693, however, when the Whig party were dominant in the State, the Penal Acts against the Macgregors were again renewed; and though they were put into execution only on rare occasions, they were not finally swept from the statute-book till the reign of George III.

¹ Acts etc. of Council Against Clangregor: Mait. Club Mis., vol. iii. pp. 39-42.

CHAPTER X.

1610 TO 1660.

EARL OF ORKNEY'S ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE FROM DUMBARTON CASTLE—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST
OGILVIE THE JESUIT—CIVIL WAR—DUMBARTON CASTLE—PROVOST SEMPILL, GOVERNOR
—SIR CHARLES ERSKINE, GOVERNOR—GIVEN UP TO MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT—
ATTEMPT OF THE EARL OF GLENCAIRN—TREATY BETWEEN GLENCAIRN AND MONK.



ATE in the year 1610, when the Privy Council was exercising its greatest severity against the Macgregors, King James forwarded another epistle to that body regarding the tyrannical proceedings of the Earl of Orkney towards the people living upon his earldom. Earl Patrick having fallen into disgrace at the court of James, retired to the northern part of the kingdom, and there attempted to carry out the mad project of establishing himself as an independent prince in the islands of Orkney and Shetland. But his rapacious and cruel conduct had soon the effect of turning against him that very power through which he counted upon accomplishing his design; and the King had hardly taken his seat upon the English throne, when the oppressed islanders presented complaints regarding the intolerable grievances under which they suffered. In his letter to the Council, dated December 1608, the King says that "having dewlie considerit the miserie of the poore distressit peopill whose hard fameishing estait is worse than death, the nombers of them, which is a great presumtioun that sume of thame has over just cause;" he, "being loath that the distressit sould not have the benefeit of our relief, and the proud and rebellious not feill

the weight of our just wrath and indignatioun, have concludit to grant a commissioun in form as it is desyrit." As the Earl was nearly related to King James, the Council judged it advisable, in the first instance, to issue remonstrances only, but they had little or no effect; and in 1610, Orkney's oppressions became so serious in their character that the Lord Advocate found it necessary to bring him to a public trial. "Contrary to general expectation," says Pitcairn, "the effects of long imprisonment seemed only to aggravate the rancour of the Earl's cruel disposition, and he employed the greater part of his time in meditating projects for his escape, so that he might once more boldly defy the King and the Privy Council of Scotland. Probably the most effectual check which was given to the Earl's design was the sequestration of his revenues, except such as were necessary for his bare maintenance as a state prisoner. This rigorous step, however, appears to have been carried too far, and, doubtless, suggested to the Earl the idea of sending his 'base son,' Robert Stewart, to Orkney, where, after having uplifted the rents, he might secretly convey a portion of them to Dumbarton Castle, to which stronghold he had, in 1614, being conveyed for greater security." It is with the Earl's attempt to escape from the Castle that this history has particularly to do. From the minutes of Privy Council (July 7, 1614), it appears that "informatioun was made to sume of the Counsall that ane poist-boy was cum from Orkney with letters to the Earl of Orkney, and as he was to retorne agane with ane ansuer to their letters, direction was givin for the seircheing of him." In his deposition before the Council, the post-boy, Duncan Mitchell, states, "upoun Thurisday the last of Junij, aboute tua of the cloke in the afternoone, the depouner came to Dumbartane, and fand the Earll walking in the cloise, and he delivered Robertis letter to the Earll. And when the depouner tauld the Earll that the house of Birsay wes tane, the Earl answerit, 'The devill stick him! he might haif tain ane better house; he micht haif mellit with the

scheref depute, and gif he had maid quyte of him, he wald haif had lesse ado,"¹

¹ A few months previous to the last trial of the Earl of Orkney, a James Lyoun, "base son" to the Master of Glamis, gives an interesting narrative in his deposition of the means taken to effect the Earl's escape from Dumbarton Castle :—

AT EDINBURGH, *the nyntene day of November 1614. In presence of my Lordis Chancellour, Secretair, Clerk of Register, and Aduocat.*

James Lyoun, base son of the late Mr. of Glamis, solemnelie sworne and demandit, Yf at one tyme he past to Dunbartane to visite the Erll of Orknay ? Deponis, that in sommer bigane two yeir, the Erll of Orknay send Mr. Michael Mair, then his secretarie, to the depouner, he being in the heade of the Canongait for the tyme, with a commissioun, desyring the depouner to come to him to Dunbartane. Whereupon the depouner raid with him to Dunbartane. And at his comeing thair, the Erll layed to his chairge, yf he wald assist him to brek warde oute of the Castell of Dunbartane ? And at the first, the depouner refuisit to haif ony dealing in that mater. But being earnistlie delt with be the Erll, and mony fair promisses maid by the Erll to him, in end the depouner yeildit to do his best endevoiris to help the Erll to eschaip, and convoy him to Orknay. And deponis, that the said Mr. Michael Mair wes vpoun the Erllis counsaill, in this mater ; and proponit the same to the depouner, in the way, as they wer ryding to Dunbartane. And after the depouner had imbraceit this conditioun, he and the said Mr. Michael had diuers conferences and speecheis, anent the meanes and possibillitis to effectuat thair

interprise. And deponis, that the said Mr. Michael was imployit be the Erll to deale with the Laird of Cluny, to imbarke him in this interprise. And the said Mr. Michael, with the depouner, had speiches with Cluny vpoun that subiect, at the Toun of Leithe, on the Linkis ; and the Laird promiseit to gif his assistance and furtherance in that mater. And for this effect, they appointit a tryist and meeting to be at Striuling, vpoun the Satterday thairefter, and the depouner and Mr. Michael mett vpoun Satterday, at night, at Striuling ; and Cluny came not quhill Sunday, in the moirning, bot send his man David Gairdin thair, vpoun the Satterday, to excuse his absence. And when they mett altogidder vpoun the Sondag, thay raasoned vpoun the meanes how to get the Earll out of the Castell ; and resolved to tak him ouer the wall by a cord, and ane instrument of irne, whiche the depouner causit mak. And Mr. Michael promiseit to prepar the tow. And it was aggreit that when all thingis wer in reddynes for the Erllis eschaip, he sould proceed as yf he had some earand ado in the House, and send his three Keeparis, one efter another, for dispatche of his earandis : and then he sould come away. And they aggreit to bring some horsis to Dunbuk-Hill, to haif convoyit the Erll and his companie away ; and ane horse sould haif bene broght to the Castell-wall, for the Erll himself ; and Cluny sould haif broght thir horssis to Glasgow, bot Cluny broght not the horssis with him. And the depouner raid to Dunbartane, and the said Mr. Michael tauld the Erll that the depouner was come, and all thingis wer preparit and in reddynes for his eschaiping. And then the Erll began to faint ; and maid choise,

On the 1st February 1615, the Earl of Orkney was brought to trial for the offences alluded to in Lyoun's deposition, and being

rather to suborne the Portair nor to haisard to come ouer the wall ; and so delt with the Portair vpoun that subiect ; who reveillit the same to the Laird of Buchannane, who had the charge of the House for the tyme. Deponis, that at Martymes, in the yeir foirsaid, the said Mr. Michael Mair come of new to the depouner, he being in the heid of the Cannogait for the tyme, with a commission from the Erll to come West to him agane to Dunbartane. And the depouner refusit to go West, saying, that "he wald mell no forder with the Erll, nor in nane of his courses." To whom Maister Michael an-suerit, "I see this man" (meaneing he the Earle) "hes not the grace of God in him ; I will lykewayis haif no forder dealling with him !" Deponis, that after Robert Steuart base son to the Erll of Orknay, wes come out of Orknay, and fred of warde for keeping of the Castell of Kirkwall aganis the Bischop of Orknay, the depouner, in deling with Robert in this Toun, delt with him that he wald mak his addresse to Courte ; and thair vse his credite to gett his Maisteis fauor : And sayis, that Robert wes willing to haif gone to Courte, bot made his excuse vpoun the want of money, and his faderis offence aganis him for geving ouer of the House of Kirkwall ; and Robert intreated the depouner to ryde with him to Dunbartane, and to interceid for him to his fader, bothe for his fauour and some money : And the depouner yeildit to ryde with him, and thay raid togidder to Dunbartane, and stayed thair bot ane night. And the depouner knawis not yf the Erll spak with Robert that night. And vpoun the morne, the Erll directit the depouner with a Letter to the

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Erll of Cassillis, being in Carrik for the tyme, for some money. And Robert Steuart raid with the depouner to Carrik. And when they come back agane to Dunbartane, the Erll wald not looke vpoun Robert, calling him "Ane feble vnworthie beast !" vseing many imprecationis and cursses aganis him for geving over of the House, saying, he "wes the wraick of him and his estate !" And the depouner being reddy to come away frome Dunbartane, the said Robert come to him to the Toun of Dunbartane, desiring him to go againe and specke his fader in his fauouris, and to tell him that he wald tak some desperat course, and go oute of the cuntrey, yf he could not procure his fauour. Whereupoun, the depouner went bak agane to the Castell, and eirnistlie delt with the Erll in Robertis fauour ; bot the Erll could not with patience heir of him, bot gaif oute mony invective and dispytefull specheis aganis him, calling him "Fals, feble beast." for geving ouer of his House. And in end, the depouner haueing promeisit in Robertis name, that Robert wald do ony thing the Erll wald command him, the Erll thairvpoun become to be more calme, and to gif eare to the depounaris speeches in Robertis fauour. Whereupoun, the depouner broghte Robert to the Erll, and tauld to the Erll, that Robert wald do ony thing that the Erll wald bid him ; to whom the Erll ansuerit, that Robert had not a spirit nor courage to follow ony interprise ; and Robert haveing craved of the Erll his fader, that he myght haif a ryght of the landis of Westraue or Steanehouse, the Erll wald yield to gif him no thing, quhill first he had repairit the wrang he had done, in giving ouer of his House ; and by re-

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found guilty, was executed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. Calderwood states that the wiser and elder sort of the nobility withdrew themselves from his assize—a statement which may account for certain proceedings taken by Thomas Fallisdaill, Provost of Dumbar-ton. According to the books of Adjournal, Fallisdaill appeared on the day of the trial as *excusatorio nomine* for Alexander Colquhoun of Luss, and “Declarit that he was viseit with ane grit seiknes, and nocht able to travell to the keiping of the dyet, summoned to pass upon the Earl of Orknay’s assyse; and thairupone producet ane

couering of the same agane, to play the pairt of a man. And the Erll haveing desirit the depouner that he wold gif him his worde and promiseis, in Robertis name, that Robert sould go to Orknay and recouer the Houssis agane, the depouner refusit to gif his promiseis or word, saying, “Robert wald speke and promiseis for him selff!” Whairupoun Robert, in the depounaris audience, promiseit to the Erll to go to Orknay, and to tak in the Houssis agane. And then the Erll acceptit of him, saying, he “sould want no thing, and that he wald aduance him so far as he might.” And so the depouner haveing aggreit the Erll, with Robert, the depouner left thame. And as he wes comeing away, Duncane M^cClellane, the Erllis poist, followit the Depouner to the Toun of Dunbartane, willing him to go bak agane to my Lord; and the depouner refusit to go bak because he vnderstoode that the purpois of his bak calling wes to haif delt with him to haif gone with Robert to Orknay. And the depouner meeting at that tyme with James Annand, sometyme the Erllis seruand, in Dunbartane Towne, the said James askit of the depouner, “yf he had aggreit the fader and the sone?” And the depouner ansuerit, “thay wer aggreit,” and that “Robert must neidis go to Orknay, or thair wilbe no lyffe

for him!” To whom James replyit, “The Erll is ane vnhappie man! He knowis Robert can do no goode in Orknay. His purpois is to bring him to the scaffolde, and to bring the sclander of his bloode vpoun the king!” And vpoun the morne, the depounair raid fra Dunbartane towards Edinburghe; and M^cClellane, the poist, come to Edinburghe with him. And within tuentie dayis thairefter, Robert Steuart come to Edinburghe, and lichtit at Henry Raes house, and askit of him whair the depouner wes? And Henry Rae broght Robert to the depouner in George Lasonis house in the heade of Peblis-wynd, quhair the depouner ludgeit; and Robert tauld to the depouner that he had vndirtane the interprise of Orknay, and wes resoluit to go thair. And the depouner asking of him, how he wald be prouydit and furneist with money? Robert tauld him, that he had a Letter frome his fader to one Johne Smithe, his fader’s mercheant in S^t Androis, to advance him iij. merkis of siluer. Whairupon Robert and the depouner past to S^t Androis to haif gevin the money, and haueing stayed thair aucht days, Johnne Smith refusit to gif the money, vnles he had a Band vnder the Erllis hand, for the haill moneyis he was awand him afoir, including thairin the siluer now to be gevin, with the

testimonial, subscrivit be Mr. Walter Stewart, minister at Kilpatrick ; quhilk the justice admitted."

Among other parties confined in the Castle at this time were several of the inhabitants of Glasgow for having attended the ministration of the notorious John Ogilvie, the Jesuit. The anonymous author of "The Historie of King James the Sext," says that during the year 1615, "In the citie of Glasgow there hapnit a man, callit Mr. John Ogilvie, Jesuit, to be apprendit ther be the Archbishop and his men, because he was tryit (proved) sufficientlie

annuel of the haill. And deponis, that thay onlie ressaute at that tyme fra Johnne Smithe xx lib to defray thair chargeis. Deponis forder, that at thair comeing out of S^t Androis McClellane, the poist, came to Robert with Letteris fra the Erll his fader ; and the depouner saw and red ane of the Letteris, whilk was a lang Memorandum, full of injunctiounes how Robert sould carye him self in Orkney, bothe anent the taking of the Houssis, the intromissioun with the Erllis rentis, and what men he sould putt oute of the cuntrey. And the depouner rememberis weele of ane special poynte of the Memorandum, to witt, that Robert sould send the Erllis creare, laidnit with beare and salt goodis, to Brein, in Norroway, and thair sell the same, and by poulder and bullett with the money that sould be gottin thairfoir. And that, abue all thingis, Robert sould see that the Houssis wer weele furneist. And McClellane come bak with thame to Leithe. And deponis, that then thay raid to Dunbartane, and Robert stayed at the smithis house outwith the Toun, and the depouner raid forwart towardis the Castell. And the Eril, being aduerteist that thay wer come to the smithis house, he send Johnne Burne, his seruand, to haif stayit thame at the

smithis house. And the depouner forgadder with Johnne Burne, in the way betuix the smithis house and the Castell, Johnne Burne delt with the depouner to go bak, saying that thay had done evill to come, for the Counsall wald be in suspicioun that thay had some purpois for thair going to Orkney. And he tauld the depouner, that they wald not get access to the Erll, yitt the depouner wald not be stayed, bot come fordwart to the Castell-yett, and craving entrie, he was ansuerit ouer the wall be one Robert Knox, who had the charge of the House, that he wald not get entree. Whairupoun, the depouner come bak, and being in ane grite anger because he could not gett entrie, he said to Johnne Burne, that he sould reveill all thair practizeis to the Counsell, seeing he could not get payment of the moneyis addebtit be the Erll to him. Deponis, that Johnne Burne askit of the depouner, yf he had prouidit ony men, in Angus, to tak with him to Orkney ? And the depouner maid him to beleve, that he had prouidit some men in Angus, who were goode fellowis, to haif gone thair. And the depouner named some of thair names : And he did this purpoislie, to haif gottin payment of his moneyis.

to have sayed Messe ther to sum inhabitants and citizens of that toun ; and so monie as wer tryit wer all impreasonit in the Castell of Dumbartane ther to remayne upon ther own expensis ; and thereafter relaxit and consynit for a pecuniall soume for contravening the Act of Parliament ; and fand caution under gret soumes of money, ather of them, not to commit the lyk fault or cryme agane. Ogilvie himself was in the first place conveyed to Edinburgh, where he was confined and kept from sleep for the space of eight days, and at the end of that time was sent back to Glasgow, where he was tried by a Commission appointed for the purpose. Being found guilty of denying the King's supremacy he was sentenced to be hanged and quartered, and suffered the same day on which he was tried."

The time was now approaching when the people of Dumbartonshire, as of other places in the kingdom, were to be engaged in a conflict more tremendous in its nature and important in its consequences than any they had yet been concerned in. In Scotland the war between Popery and Protestantism was to be succeeded by a war between Prelacy and Presbyterianism ; and from the spirit of the parties concerned, the second war seemed likely to be more protracted and disastrous than the first. Nor was this struggle, great as it was, the only cause the people of Scotland had for girding on their armour. In England, the struggle for conscience sake assumed the form of a struggle between independency and republicanism on the one side, and Prelacy allied to arbitrary power on the other. In the progress of events, it became necessary that the Presbyterians of the north should cast in their fortunes either with the King or the hostile sects who menaced his throne. They did choose, but hardly with their accustomed wisdom ; and the position, taken up in prejudice, was defended by them rather with obstinacy than skill. To the monarchical part of the constitution, if under proper restrictions, the Presbyterians had no objection ; though it was a matter in which they appear to have been less interested than their favourite form of church govern-

ment. To get it restored they seemed inclined to sacrifice their wonted consistency by aiding a King to maintain Prelacy in the south of the island if he would only in the north accept the Covenant and countenance the Kirk.

The troubles of Charles in Scotland began with his ecclesiastical innovations. So long as Knox lived the Church of the Reformation in Scotland was celebrated for the purity and simplicity of its ritual ; but the grave had hardly closed over the great Reformer, when the favourers of Episcopacy, supported by the Regent Morton, and afterwards by the King, sought to introduce their fancied improvements into the Scottish Church. Urged on by bad advisers from without and the promptings of an inordinate vanity within, James took frequent occasion to interfere in the affairs of the church, and imposed on her many observances which were not only prelatic but papistical in their nature and design. Charles I., while he had imbibed from his father the most extravagant notions of kingly power, disdained in his haughty imperiousness to conceal them by any finesse, and in the very first year of his reign attempted to transfer what had been church lands, from the lay proprietors into whose hands they had fallen, to the support of the new establishment. But the hostility excited by the scheme was so universal, that he departed from his original design, and two years later issued a commission for receiving the yet unappropriated tithes and church superiorities on behalf of the Episcopal clergy. On the 4th June 1627, the burgesses of Dumbarton, being warned by proclamation to appear before the Commissioners on the business of the church lands, resolved to resist the threatened innovation as far as they were able, and, a few weeks afterwards, appointed Provost Sempill their commissioner to a convention of burghs to give information regarding the patronage and superiorities in the hands of the Council.¹

¹ Burgh Records.

Without entering upon any minute detail of the stirring events of the great civil war, it may be stated, generally, that the part taken by Dumbartonshire did not differ greatly from that taken by the other counties in Scotland, which alternately contended with Charles as an enemy to their religion, and then supported him as opposed to his Puritan adversaries. Years of baffled intentions failed to convince Charles that his Scottish subjects would become rebels sooner than Episcopalians. His designs, commenced as has been seen soon after his accession, were continued for years with a mischievous consistency, till at length an opposition was created which helped to level sovereign and throne together in the dust. At the conference in Edinburgh, known as the "Tables," in the latter end of 1637, John Sempill appeared on behalf of Dumbarton to oppose the service-book, and in May of the year following he was nominated, with six others, to represent the burgh in the Covenanted conference called when the Marquis of Hamilton arrived in Edinburgh to treat on the part of Charles concerning the religion and liberties of the kingdom.¹ Matters

¹ Burgh Records :—

The qth day fforsameikill as James
1638, Cochrane, Johne Smith, and
May 28. Thomas Patersoun, com^{rs} for the
burgh of Ed^r, has written to the
p^reist, baillies, and counsall of this burgh,
That the Marquis of Hamilton is, God
willing, to be in Ed^r the fyft of Junij nixt,
as com^r from the Kingis Ma^{tie}, for setling
the comotiouns of this kingdome, and a
solemne and frequent meting of all coun-
sellors is appoynted to be at Dalkeith, the
sext day of the said month of Junij, for that
effect, and that seing the grit and publik
business so nerlie c^ocerning the religioun and
libertie of this kingdome is drawne to such
ae hicht as the Kingis finall pless^r and the
peopills resolutionis thairanent ar to be

declarit and determined at that meitting,
Thairfoir it is thot meit and expedient that
all quho hes joyned in the Covenant repair
to Ed^r the second of Junij, to c^ocure wth the
nobilmen, gentrie, burrowis, and ministers,
be thair advyse and assistance, ffor quiche
end it is maist urgentlie desyrit, that a c^opetent
number of this burgh repair thair againe
that day (at leist sa monie as we may c^oven-
entlie spair), to farder the c^oclusion of that
weighttest business that evir hes beene in the
churche and kingdome [The P^reist, Walter
Watsoun, Johne Sempill, William Sempill,
Robert Watsoun, William Campbell, and
David Watsoun, clark, appointed to ryd to
Ed^r, and keip the dyet, by and beside the
minister.] It is c^ocludit that ae ansenye be
bocht for this burgh, on the chairges of the

had now reached a crisis which made negotiation, and even concession, a hopeless undertaking. The signs of the approaching conflict were too evident to be misunderstood. In July the inhabitants in and about Dumbarton were commanded to arm themselves with swords,

burgh for the musters, and ordain Johne Sempill or Robert Watsoun, or ony of them at thair being in Ed^r to pryse and waill it.

Two of the com^{rs} appoined to proceeid to Ed^r for fyftien daies, to convene with the uthirs concerning the trew religion, and the proposed innovations to be maid in the worship of God.

Thay ordaine the haill toun and parochin to p^{ro}vid^e themselfis armor, sik as swords, muskattis, bandliers, and pikkes, wth all diligence.

Thay ordaine George Hall, baillie, to send in haste to Ed^r to caus mak and bring hame ane ansenye, In respect of the wapounschawing is appoyntit to be on the sext of August nixt, and ordaine the Th^{rs} to geve James Lenox ane dollar for his paines in going thair and attending till the ansenye be reddie to bring wth him, and to send xlth wth him to Johne Tayt to deburss for it till we see q^d it costis.

Forsameikill as the burgh is as yet vnprovydit wth muskattis, pikes, powdir, and matche, It is c^ocludit that the same be coft for the inhabitants of this burgh, and to that effect give comissioun to the p^{re}ist, and to Mr. James Campbell, and George Hall, baillie, or ony of thaim, at thair being in Ed^r, to by at leist threttie guid muskatts, wth restis and bandliers, wth ane cwt. powdir and ane cwt. guid matche, with fourtie asche piks, and to mak securitie for the payment of the pryces thair of at sik c^onvenient day as thay can get.

The muskettis and powder being brocht, The haill burgesses q^d wantes is not sufficientle provydit, and speciallie thiose q^d tuik in hand to get muskittis, to be warnit to cum to the tolbuith on the 26 day of Octobir instant, there to receive the same and pay the prices thairfor.

In respect that few or nane have coft powdir, and the price being written for, Thairfoir thay ordaine ilk p^{ro}un to be chargit to tak twa pund at leist thair of, and to pay auchteenth for ilk pund.

Thay think meit to send a com^r to Ed^r to advyse wth the uthir burrowis in the guid causs, anent the mater of religioun and public guid of the kingdom.

The q^u day, firsameikill albeit this burgh was ordanit to drill as thay war warnit be quarters and that thay cum not to the drilling, Thairfoir thay ordaine and decerne everie ae that fails to pay sexth of un^law, toties quoties, as thay fail wthout getting leiff of the quarterm^r upoun a lawful business, the un^law to go for the use of the dreil^m, drummer, and cumpanie that drills, and ordaine the officers, gif neid be, to poynd and distress thairfor, and ordaine the drillers to sie thiose that drills be p^{ro}ydit wth armor of thair awn, vn^oborrowit.

The q^u day the p^{re}ist, baillies, counsall, and burgesses being c^ovenit, heving respect to o^r Soverane Lord his honor as loyal subjectis, and for defence of this kingdome fra forane Invasioun, and defence of the trew

muskets, and pikes; ammunition was procured from Edinburgh, and a strict drill enforced among the burgesses. These preparations reached a climax in March 1639, when a council of war was chosen for the two-fold purpose of maintaining the "trew religioun" and

religioun professt wth this kingdome, and c^osidering the necessitie of armor, men, and money, for this effect, thay heve electit, noth, and chosin Johne Sempill, p^reist, William Colquhoun, baillie, Mr James Campbell, Robert Watsoun, George Buchanane, Thomas Fallisdaill, William Sempill, Archibald Crawford, Hew Neisbit, Patrick Ewing, Johne Malcum, and Patrick M^rKaine, or ony sevin of the s^d twelff p^rounis, The p^reist or baillie being always ane of them, as ae comitte and counsall for maters of war in thair caiss, Gevand the s^d p^rounis, or ony sevin of them in absence of the rest, the p^reist or baillie being always ae thairof. Com^r to meit and c^ovene at occasiounis as thay pleiss, and to set down ae extent roll and taxatioun vpoun themselves and thair haill ny^tbars, burgesses, vassals, and inhabitants wth the burgh and territoric, and to appoynt collectars and receevers thairof for vplifting of the same.

Forsameikill as a grit number of the 1639, nobillmen, barronis, and gentrie Mar. 22. of this kingdome being c^ovenit at Perth, the xv day of Marche instant, Thot meit and expedient that sex scoir aibill men be p^rydit at the comoun chairges of the said nobillmen, barronis, and uthers q^h will be plesit to join wth them in so guid a wark, for the suppressing of the rebellion and broken men, for the spaice of thrie monthes eftir thair entrie, q^h sall be the first of Apryll nixt. [The Erle of Argyle to haue the chairge of the s^d sex scoir men.] It is thought meit Dunbartane agrie wth that ordinance, q^h "is

veri guid," and empower the p^reist and baillies to subscribe the articles, and pay thair proportion.

The P^reist, being about to proceed to 1639, Ed^r, is instructed to buy for the May 9. tounis magassein, and for the inhabitants not yet y^rydit, fourtie musketts, fourtie pikes, and twa hundredwecht of powder and leid, David Watsoun to geve him fiftie dollars to wair thairon for the p^rt.

ROLL OF THE SOLDIERS SENT OUT BE THE TOUN FOR THE COMOUN SERVICE, ON THE 8TH OF MAY 1639 :—

Umphra Scot furneist wth Johne M^rWilliams muskat, bandlers, and Johne Williamsouns [sword]—the sword only restorit.

Walter Watsoun furneist wth James Cowartis pik and Patrick Porters sword—restorit.

Donald Cameron furnist wth musket and sword belonging to Robert Sempill his m^r—restorit.

Hector Monro furneist wth a pik belonging to James Lang, in Tounend, and a sword of his awn—restorit.

Johne Buchanane, meillman, furneist wth a pik of Johne Mitchell, chapman, and his awn sword—restorit.

Robert Merchand furneist wth a pik bocht be —, and his awn sword.

Robert Layng furneist wth a pik belonging to Johne Campbell, skippar, and sword belonging to Robert Eldir—restorit in the Tolbuith.

William Cowart furneist wth musket, sword, bandliers, and matche, belonging to his fay^r.

preserving themselves from foreign invaders. Provost Sempill, the guiding spirit of the committee, was not long in rendering substantial service to the cause of the Covenant. The Castle at this time was held on behalf of the King by Sir William Stewart, a religious gentleman (according to Spalding), and true to his sovereign. On the last Sunday of March—the Sacramental Sabbath—the governor, with his family, proceeded to the parish church, little thinking that the Covenanting party, with a strange disregard for the sacredness of the season, had fixed upon that day for carrying out a scheme to possess themselves of the fortress. At the conclusion of the service, according to Principal Baillie, Sempill invited Stewart to dine at his house, but the invitation being declined, the Provost plainly informed the governor that it was necessary he should remain in his company. A troop of forty men thereupon surrounded Stewart and his friends,

Bruen M'Marcus furneist w^t musket and sword be Johne Duncan and James Brok.

Thomas Freland furneist w^t musket and sword be Johne Smallie and Johne M'Clain.

James Duncan furneist w^t pik belonging to Walter Denie, and sword of Umphra Denies.

Mungow Kessane, for Patrick Leiche, furneist w^t, Patrick Porters musket and Finla Clerks sword. [24 July, Mungow and Walter Denie actit thaim to restore the sword.]

William Crawford furneist w^t pik belonging to Finla Ewing.

Harie Gilmour furneist w^t musket and sword belonging to Robert M'Indo.

Bartie M'Claine furneist w^t musket belonging to Johne Gilchrist, and his fay^r sword.

Johne Glen (in Murroche) furneist w^t pik belonging to Robert Porterfield.

Johne Johnstoune furneist w^t musket and sword be his m^r.

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Andro Glen furneist w^t hagbut and sword.

D^a M'Claine furneist w^t musket and sword.

Johne M'Nevin furneist w^t musket and sword.

Johne M'Kinlay furneist w^t pik and sword.

And all deluerit to James Lenox, Low-tenant to the Laird of Kilbyrne, Captaine for the shr^ddom of Dunbartane, on the aucht of May 1639, being twentie-thrie men, armit as said is, viz, fourteen musketers, and nyne pikmen, and all hauing swords, victuallit and furneist w^t ten dayes provisioun in victuall and money. And on the nynt of May, Alexander Steill went eftir them, armit with a musket and band belonging to Johne Robein, and a sword of his awn.

Neill Campbell, armit w^t a pik belonging to —, and a sword of his awn, in cumpanie w^t Mr. D^a M'Alpine.

The p^eist to give the suddartis (in additionie to the victuall gien them alreddie) fourtie-aucht dollars, gif thay have neid.

H H

and conveyed them to Provost Sempill's house, where a demand was made upon him for the keys of the Castle. "That I will never do" (says Stewart), "so long as I have life." "Come" (replies the doughty chief magistrate), "be not foolish and obstinate, for if you fail to send for and give us the keys instantly, I vow to God to send the heads of those that are here as a token to deliver them to us for the country's safety." Stewart thereupon consented to the demand, and despatched a messenger to the Castle for the keys, which he delivered into the hands of Provost Sempill.¹ Spalding notices a few details connected with the capture which may be correct enough. "Stewart" (he says) "was compelled to cast off his cloathes, which were shortly putt upon ane other gentleman of his shape and quantitie, and he putt on his cloathes on him againe. Thus, appairell interchanged, they commanded the captain, under paine of death, to tell the watchword, which, for fear of his life, he truly told. Then they go in the night quietly, onsein be the castillians, and had their counterfeit captain with them, who cryed and called by the watchword; which being heard, yeitts are cossen open, in goes the Covenanters with greater power nor was within to defend it, and mans and fortifies the Castle to their mind."² In reference to this capture, Sir William Stewart presented a petition to the Parliament of 1639, craving restitution of his goods, and hoping that the Estates would try and declare that the taking of the Castle was against his will and without his knowledge. A committee was appointed to hear his case and report to the Lords

¹ Raithe's "Annals," vol. i. p. 322. In Raithe's account of the transaction, mention is made of the Laird of Ardincaple as taking a prominent part in the "Surprise." He also states that the garrison instead of being overthrown in the way described, stood a siege of one night. In the Hamilton Papers, No. 20 of Chalmers' Catalogue is a letter from the governor to the Marquis of Hamilton

giving an account of the loss of the Castle, "which was betrayed by the garrison to the Lords of the Covenant," 15th April 1639. Rushworth, referring to the capture, says the Castle was of great advantage for the landing of the Irish forces designed for Scotland by the Lord Deputy of Ireland.

² History of the Troubles in Scotland and England, vol. i. pp. 120, 121. — Bann. Club Ed.

of Articles, but with what result the printed records of Parliament make no mention. At the date of the capture Stewart appears to have had it fairly supplied with ammunition and victuals, a great change in this respect having taken place from the date of a report to the Privy Council by Sir John Stewart of Traquair. On visiting the Castle in 1627, he found no other force on the Rock than three men and a boy. The walls in the chief and most important parts were ruinous and decayed; the house wanted doors, locks, and bolts, and was neither wind nor water tight; the ordnance was unmounted, and there was little or no provision of victuals or munition (except some few rusty muskets) to be seen in the place. The appearance of the Castle about the period of Sempill's "Surprise" is noticed by Sir James Balfour in his manuscript collections on the Shires of Scotland:—"On one of the tops of the Rock there standeth upon a lofty watch tower a keepe. On the other which is lower, there are sundry strong bulwarks. Between these two tops on the north it hath only one ascent by which only one by one can pass up, and that with a labour by tiers and stepes cutt out a slope traverse the Rock. Instead of ditches on the west side serveth the river Levin, on the south Clyde, and on the east a boggy slate, which at every tyde is wholly covered over with waters, and on the north side the very upright steepness of the place is a most sufficient defence."

On the capture of the Castle by Sempill, a portion of Argyll's force entered on its defence, enabling the burgesses of the town to contribute to the common service of the country fourteen men armed with muskets and nine with pikes. These men appear, on the 8th of May, to have duly joined the detachment of James Lennox, who acted as lieutenant for the Laird of Kilbirnie, captain of the sheriffdom of Dumbarton.¹

The Castle seems to have been held only a few months by the

¹ See ante, p. 241, "Burgh Records," 8th May, 1639.

Covenanters, when, under the terms of the treaty of Berwick, it passed into the hands of the royalist party, who bestowed the governorship upon Sir John Henderson, brother-in-law to General Ruthven, the governor of Edinburgh Castle. In May, a messenger wearing the garb of a herald, appeared before the gates, with a letter from the Estates, commanding Henderson to restore the Castle to their keeping. The governor refused to comply, and challenged the herald to answer for his offence, in summoning a royal castle held for the King, while he wore the dress of a king's herald.¹ In August following, a severe cutaneous disorder broke out among the soldiers, and before the place could be re-garrisoned, it had submitted, without much resistance, to the army of the Covenant under Argyll.² Attached to a paper printed by Spalding, entitled

¹ Spalding's "History," vol. i. p. 203.

² Among the broadsides in the Balfour MSS., Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, is a ballad relating to the sad experiences of the Royalists in the Castle at that time. Another copy appears in one of the ballad collections in the British Museum. It appears in the Catalogue of our National Library, as of date "London, November 25, 1643." About the author no conjecture can be here offered. The ballad has been reprinted previous to this, in a small collection from the Balfour MSS., edited by Mr Maidment, and also in "A Lennox Garland." It possesses little poetical merit, but the last couplet of the first verse :—

"Most dismall was that day accurs'd that hour,
When first we saw Dunbriton's dolefull Towre"—

cannot but recall the refrain of one of Collins's beautiful Oriental Eclogues.—

"Sad was the hour and luckless was the day,
When first from Schiraz wall I bent my way."

DUMBRITON'S CASTLE DOLEFULL COM-
MENDATIONS TO ALL THE RASCALL
ROGUES WITHIN THIR NATIONS.

We your wretched Brethren in Dumbrition
fort,
Compassions objects, now in saddest port ;
Time's gazing-stockes, and spectacles of
shame,
Misfortune map, the branders of our name ;
To you our bailefull brethren is much ill,
Who doe remain in Eden's fatall hill,
Whose lured lines in tragicke tearme we
send,
And in salt teares to you we us commend :
Acquainting you with our most wofull cace,
And our bad entertainment in this place,
Our souls, our bodies, credit, states, and
name,
Are stained all with never-dying shame.
Most dismall was that day, accurs'd that
hour,
When first we saw Dumbrition's dolefull
Towre.

"Sure news from Newcastle, and from the Scottish army," is an account of this winning of Dumbarton by Argyll:—"Upon Thursday, the 27th of August, the Earle of Argyll came to Dumbarton, and haveing conveyned the committee of war within that shyre, did show to them his direction from the Estates, and his undertaking accordingly for intakeing of the Castle of Dumbartaron. Whereupon the

Our souls are by an evill conscience crost,
And for man's favour God's love is near lost ;
Hels furies night and day doe us torment,
For guiltlesse murthers, wrongs, and time
mispent ;
Our bodies strong and healthfull once a day,
Now weake and sicke, wee dwyne and melt
away ;
Cold, hunger, thirst, and scrubies cut our
breath,
And turn our corps anatomies of death ;
Our carcases most ugly to behold,
Our sores and sorrows moe, nor can bee told ;
Our coal-blacke faces to the world portend
Our loathsome lives, and most unhappie end.
No pen nor pensil can our woes paint out,
Which in each place shall still be blaz'd
about.

Hels fire-brands and unnatural vipers wee,
Who wishd our countrey lost, thogh we
should die,
And for the favour of an early King
Wee car'd not what ills on our souls to bring.
Woe to the time when first wee entred in
That hellish Rocke, where we did act such sin :
Let not that day be numbered with the yeare,
Nor hence into times Kalendar appeare.
Our hellish hopes which wee conceived in May,
In dolefull August all were cropt away ;
Our Cannon, Ball, and Powder nought
prevaile,
Sickness and thirst maid all our courage faile.

And in the fruitlesse hopes of new supplie,
Like dogs, not men, wee in a madnesse die.

Wee casheir'd Scots with sorrow from our
soyle,
Exiled for aye, must take a shamefull foile ;
And to succeeding times must beare the
blame,

As enemies to our native cuntrey's fame ;
All lost at home, which wee acquir'd abroad,
And fighters wee'gainst countrey and our God :
Whose heavie hand with his verminian hoast
Hath quell'd our courage, and laid all our
boast :

Wee English gallants whose top reach'd the
skies

At our first entrie, now full low it lyes ;
And we who once threat'd earth and heavens
most hie,

Some dead, some dying, some with shame
now flie.

And to aggredge our shame and finall woes,
How wee must yeeld to covenanting foes.

Whose mercies wee unto the full have found,
While as our barbarous bowtcheries did
abound ;

When Marah's bitter waters all were gone,
At Glasgow wee found Elim streames anone :
You heavens and celestiall powers above,
Rewarders of true pietie and love,
Let not Times-date Argyles rare favour smore,
But flourish still, when time shall be no more.

governor to the Castle hearing thereof, and not being able much longer to hold out, sent first for a parley of cessation of armes for a certain space; which the Earle denying, thereafter upon some articles agreed upon, he had the Castle rendered unto him, where is found a great number of excellent brassen munition, and 12,000 weight of powder, with much other warlike preparations. The garrison then

When wee deserv'd most shamefully to die,
And spectacles bee made of miserie,
Hee spar'd our wretched lives, and all our
fellowes,
Who merit still to hing and rote on gallowes,
O miracle most rare, great courtesie !
Which flame shall blaze with endlesse
memorie.

Ah ! if our gracious King inform'd could be,
How Scotland honour'd him, then happie
wee ;
But bloudie Romists who the Court now
sway,
And subtle atheists beare the game away ;
Our governour, brave Hennirsoun, whose
time
Was spent in martiall feats in youthly prime,
By frowning fates borne downe, diseases'd, and
gone,
His fortune's dismall lot doth still bemone.
Our preacher Lamount, with his dririe traine
Of Scots and English, who on life remaine,
Doe out of sad experience, sense now see
Gods hand, not mans, made us thus dwyne
and die.
And with Gamaliel now wee must confesse
This work is Gods, which no man can
opresse.

The cause is his, no strength can him gain-
stand,
No humane bul-warke can resist his hand ;

Truth must triumph, proud Rome in end
must fall,
God's work must through, in despight of us
all.

Then valiant General Ruthwen take to heart
Those our sad ills, and play the wise man's
part ;
Let sheepmen none, nor Swinzeours' mad
advise
No sutheron rogues, nor viperous Scots
entise ;
Your martiall minde to staine your honour
more,
By holding out as you have done before ;
Mixe not your honour and renowned fame
With these base titles and scarce honest
name,
Consider your souls good, your countries
cace,
And to Gods will, not to your wits, give
place.

When our armie returns with glad victorie,
And a gracious peace concluded shall bee ;
When Eden's stronghold to our countrie
shall yeeld,
When truth shall triumph, and Rome losse
the field ;
When papists and atheists, court grandour
declines,
That day you shall know who made these
few lines.
Finis quod A. B. C. Sion's friend.

in the Castle was suffered safely to come out and ship at the Ness in West Lothian, to return to England.¹

¹ One of the accusations brought against Argyll in 1661 was, that he in 1640 treasonably assieged Dumbarton Castle, kept for His Majesty by Colonel Henderson, and on obtaining possession of the fortress carried therefrom a great quantity of His Majesty's cannon and ammunition. In his answer to the articles of charge against him, the Marquis alleges that the siege was undertaken by order of the Committee of Estates, and any responsibility he had incurred in connection with it, was cancelled by the act of oblivion. As to the taking of cannon, there were only two of them which had been gifted to the defender by the late Duke of Lennox. The twelfth count in the indictment charges Argyll with being concerned in proclaiming Richard Cromwell at the market cross of Dumbarton, to which the Marquis answers that he was not there, though he had been present at Oliver's proclamation in Edinburgh. To the charge of taking and relieving prisoners, the defender replies:—"Hearing that his Isle and County of Roisnaith was pillaged, and going up the River Clydde, the boat wherein he was being followed by another boat, and the Defendor having asked what they were, they alleadged they did belong to the Earl of Glencarn, but could show no warrant, and thereupon the Defendor having some suspicion that they were rather Robbers then Souldiers belongto the Earl, and fearing that General Monck, whom the Defendor was then going to, and whom he had never seen till that time, might get notice thereof, and make use of the same as a snare, the Defender advised them to secure their money and arms in the hands of one of his Servants upon assurance that the same should be delivered to them, after he should be certified

what they were; and thereafter recommended them (fearing to incur the danger of a private prison) to the Garison of Dunbarton, not under the notion of Souldiers under the Earl of Glencarn, but as common Delinquents for injury done to the Country. And at his return after a few days (being tender that they should incur no danger) procured their releasement, and their names was never enrolled as prisoners to be exchanged; and according to his promise caused re-deliver their money and arms." Among the witnesses examined against Argyll, were Walter Watson, Provost, and John Cuninghame, Bailie of Dumbarton. The Burgh Records show Argyll to have been one of those concerned in placing the Clyde in a state of defence. Under date, May 1640, it is recorded:—"Johne Sempill, p'eist declairs that the Erle of Argyle, the Erle of Glencairne, The Lord Montgomerie, and certane uthirs as having warrand and commissioun fra the Lords and uthirs of the grit Committee of Estaittis had ordanit that thair sould be tua hundredth daillies bocht in the toun of Dunbartane for laying of the platformis for the ordinance w^m the fourthe and stances maid in the reiver of Clyd at Newark, the garvall of Grinok, and for dressing of certaine boittis appoyntit to attend on the sa river, Thairfor, the p'eist, baillies, and counsall of the s^d burgh to by for the said use twelff scoir daillies, and to causs carrie thaim over the wattir of Levin to Havok, that the comitte of the sh^hdome of Renfrew may send and tak the same thairfra over the watter of Clyd for the use ffoirsaid, and ordaine Patrick Ewing to receive securitie for the pryce of the s^d dailles fra the s^d comitee or fra the collectors of the ten pennie w^m the s^d shriffdom of Renfrew.

With a severity easily enough understood, when the importance of the fortress is considered, the King's party instituted proceedings against Sir John Henderson, for its surrender upon this occasion, but the peace referred to saved him from all punishment, as his Majesty, in 1681, "out of a sincere desire for the peace of the kingdom," made an order that the cases of the keepers of the Castles of Thrave, Dumbarton, and Edinburgh, should be remitted and their estates restored to them.

When Argyll advanced southward in October 1640, the burgh and shire were each called upon to furnish their quota of men, which the former did with "the first end of the thousand merks borrowed from Margaret Watson."¹ A proclamation was also issued for calling in all the silver work in the district, but its poverty in this respect is not obscurely brought out in a subsequent minute, which describes the silver work within the burgh as scarcely worth accepting.² The war expenses were now beginning to tell severely upon the burgh funds. On the 9th of October, the committee of the shire desired the burgesses to forward two men to the army in England, but the Council, while expressing its willingness to do so, "if they had common-guid to the fore," describe themselves as already in debt for the common service, and declare their inability to send out more men than they had done. Next year, during the arrangements for the pacification, the Scottish Parliament passed an Act commanding Argyll to surrender the Castle to the Duke of Lennox, and ordering the dismantling of the fortress, though the Duke, as its hereditary keeper, was still allowed to levy the revenues which had maintained it in bygone times. In April 1644, the order for dismantling was renewed by the Estates, and John Sempill, the Provost of Dumbarton, was ordered to carry it into effect; but the scheme does not appear to

¹ Council Records, 2d October 1640.

² Council Records, 9th September 1640, and 7th January 1641.

have met with the approval of the patriotic chief magistrate, and instead of dismantling the fortress he sought with his own resources to restore it to something like its natural importance. The worthless condition of the stores at this time is clearly enough indicated in the inventory taken when Sempill entered on the charge,¹ while a letter written by him in 1647, would lead to the belief that so far as the walls and buildings were concerned, they were likely by mere neglect to be soon enough in the defenceless condition desired by the Estates. "The houses are ruinous (he says), and a great part of the back wall, nearest the sea, is fallen out. It has been stayed up with timber-deals this winter, but many more places are likely to fall shortly. The carriages of the ten pieces of brass ordnance are all rotten." He speaks of 10,000 merks being required for urgent repairs, but if ever

¹ At the end of May 1644, when Provost Sempill entered anew on the keeping of the Castle,—he certified to have found the following furnishings in the place :—"In the hall of the Castle,—Ane drawing double board, at both ends with furms, ane drum, ane holed broken rim of a drum, ane bug board, tua furms, ane fir-bed, ane cupboard without lock or key, ane new door on the hall, ane hundredth and ane fathom of tow, twelve pikes wholly broken, q^of four with heads. In the chalmers of deisse,—Twelve rammers for cannon, thrie wormes therfor, tua furms ; ane iron flail, thrie hagbutes, ane standing bed, ane laich bed, and under the same ane grit iron pot. In the pantry,—Ane auld fixt almonry, ane auld kist, ane fore and back door without lock or key. In the auld lardener,—Tua old doors, tua long gauntres, with ane littil ane. Wallace Tower,—Auld bed and tables, a kist for matche, sixtein

cases for shot, with sum auld irne therin, five small irne ball, tua muskettis with stokis, sevin ratches of guns, sum longer sum shorter, ane auld tua handed sward, without a scabbard [doubtless the Wallace sword]. In the brewhouse,—Ane maschen fatt, tua oill barrells, leddirs, the timber of ane auld girdel, ae baikhouse board. In the armoury,—Forty-three swords in all, thirty-three corlatts back and foir, five scoir and five head pieces, twenty-four gorgettis or craig pieces, four scoir and twelve chack of match q^of two are broken and loose, two missers of white irne for the cannon, sex scoir cannon ball ; q^uguids John Sempill, Provist, grants him to have received. John Sempill; Donald Clark. D. M'Alpine, witness; Hew Nisbet, witness. This penult day of May, 1644."—Dennis-toun MSS., Ad. Lib.

it was expended, it is almost certain the sum came out of his own estate.¹

When Sempill assumed the command of the Castle for the second time, Montrose was busy rousing the clans in the north to rally round the standard of Charles. In Dumbartonshire, the royal cause seems to have been at a grievous discount. The chief fortress was in the

¹ SUPPLICATION OF JOHN SEMPILL OF STANIFLETT TO THE PARLIAMENT OF 1649.

To the hon^{ble} estaites of Pr^{ties} The humble supplication of Joⁿ Sempill of Staniflett lait keiper of the Castell of Dumbartane.

SCHEWETHE

That I ly under grit burdein of debt and sumes of money contracted and debursit be me for the provision and pay of the guarison of the s^d Castell and keiping of presoneris, As appeiris be my accomptes quhairby thair is deu to me be the publict The sum of Threttein thousand nyne hundrethe fourscore sex pund nyne schillings money of this realm (besyde preceptis that I haue accepted and compted for quhairof I haue gottin no payment) quhairby and be the burning of my landes be the rebell Allester M'donald in anno 1645 (which is yet unprofitibell to me) becaus I wald not trait wyth him for rander-ing the s^d Castell and be ane large treinche castin throu my best croft of land in Dumbartane I wes forcit to sell the maist and best pairt of my landes far within the worthe to releive sum of my cationaris, and the smal rest of my lande is so far exhaustit with quartering, out reik of hors and foott and payment of maintenance, that I am brocht to a very low conditioun having no meinis to sustain myself and my familie muche les to pay my debt vnder-tain for the

publict, so I am vtterlie ruyned, and all for my fidelitie and forwardnes in the publict service; without zour honouris out of conscience and respect to zour covenant, honour and justice, provyde sum spedie and effectuell cours for my relief and subsistance now efter two zeiris and a half that I haue lyin at the poole and culd not be hard.

Heirfore, I humble beseech your honors To tak my destressit estait and grit sufferings to your serious consideratioun, and first to heir and approve the report of my accomptes nixt (quhill it pleis God to mak your honors mair able to pay publicit debtes) that ye will be plesit to assigne to me the haill fynis and borrowit moneyis of all such persones as were designit for me be the comitteis of estatis and moneyis tuo yeiris since and mair givin up in roll to me at that tyme, and citit vpon my grit charges twyis or thryis as I sall Instruct, and were born by be moyen of grit men than in place and power, As also assigne to me the fynes and borrowit moneyis of such other persounes as I have pitchit vpoun and givin in roll to your clark of the Comittee of moneyis in March last as they will testifie, and your honours answer.

At Edinburgh, 7th August 1649, the Estates of Parliament remit and recommends the supplication above-written, to the Committee of Estates, with power to them to determine therein.—A. JOHNSTONE, Clk. Reg.

hands of an enthusiastic Covenanter, while the opinions of the great bulk of the population seem to have conscientiously squared with the Whig influence exercised by the Marquis of Argyll. Some single families, such as the Flemings of Cumbernauld, joined heartily with Montrose,¹ but, connected as he was by early ties to the Lennox,² his

¹ It was at Cumbernauld, in August 1640, that Montrose and his party entered into that conservative bond which first brought them into direct hostility with the Covenantee party they had up to that time acted with. A copy among Sir James Balfour's MS., preserved in the Advocates' Library, has been printed by Mr. Napier in his "Memorials of Montrose and his Times." It is in these words:—Whereas we undersubscribers, out of our duty to Religion, King, and Country, were forced to join ourselves in a Covenant for the maintenance and defence of either, and every one of other, in that behalf: Now, finding how that, by the particular and indirect practising of a few, the Country, and Cause now depending, does so much suffer, do heartily hereby bind and oblige ourselves, out of our duty to all these respects above mentionat, but chiefly and mainly that Covenant which we have soe solemnlie sworn and already signed, to wed and study all public ends which may tend to the safety both of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, of this poor Kingdom; and, as we are to make an account before that Great Judge at the last day, that we shall contribute one with another, in a unanimous and joint way, in whatsoever may concern the Public, or this Cause, to the hazard of our lives, fortunes, and estates, neither of us doing, consulting, nor condescending in any point, without the consent and approbation of the whole, in so far as they can be con-

veniently had, and time may allow. And likewise we swear and protest by the same oath, that, in so far as may consist with the good and weal of the Public, every one of us shall join and adhere to others, and their interests, against all persons and causes whatsoever, so what shall be done to one (with reservation foresaid) shall be equally resented and taken as done to the whole number. In witness hereof, &c., MARSHELL, MONTROSE, WIGTON, KINGHORNE, HOME, ATHOLL, MAR, PERTH, BOYD, GALLOWAY, STORMONTH, SEAFORTH, ERSKINE, KILCUBRIGHT, AMONT, DRUMMOND, JOHNSTON, LOUR, D. CARNEGIE MASTER OF LOUR.

² Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, having been married in 1620 to Lillias Graham, eldest daughter of John the fourth Earl of Montrose, the young cavalier seems to have made frequent visits to his brother-in-law and sister, at Rossdhu. In the account of his personal expenditure, while a student at St. Andrews, between 1628 and 1629, there occurs:—Item, crossing Leven, to the ferrieman, 6^{sh}; given to the keeper of Inchmirron, 30^{sh}; crossing Leven again, 6^{sh}; to the porter in the Castell of Dumbartane, 58^{sh}; to the poor of the kirk of Dumbartane, 6^{sh}; in Garscube (formerly belonging to the Montrose family, and probably the tocher of Lady Lillias on her marriage with Luss), given to the servant in drink silver, 5^{lb} 16^{sh}; to the nurrice ther, 58^{sh}; at the cards in Cumernald, 30^{sh}.

dashing career seems to have excited neither sympathy nor fear in the minds of the inhabitants. After the battle of Kilsyth, and when Montrose was virtually master of Scotland, there appears in the list of "protections" and "passes," granted by him, the names of the Laird of Luss, Adam Calquhoun of Glinns, Walter M'Aulay of Ardincaple, James Smollett, Provost of Dumbarton, David Watson, George Buchanan, and Isobel Lautie, residing there, Mungo Lindsay of Bonhill, the Duke of Lennox for the lands of Kilmaronock, and the town of Dumbarton. The feeling of the clerical portion of the community against Montrose is strongly brought out in the proceedings taken by the Presbytery of Dumbarton against James Wood, minister at Old Kilpatrick. On the 30th of September 1645, the Presbytery, after ordering a public thanksgiving for the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, appointed David Elphinstone, minister of Dumbarton, and Robert Watson to proceed to the Castle where Wood was confined, for the purpose of ascertaining through Sempill, the keeper, how far their brother of Kilpatrick had mixed himself up with the cause of the Marquis. On returning, they reported that Wood admitted he had dealt with Montrose for surrender of the Castle of Dumbarton, and also that it was openly reported he had boasted to a messenger-at-arms, that he would read the Marquis's proclamation at the Cross of Dumbarton. Further, it appeared that Wood actually had read the papers referred to out of his pulpit—nay, that he had dealt with his parishioners to join Montrose's army, and had actually blessed his table at Bothwell. For these offences Wood was summoned by literal citation to attend in person before the reverend Presbytery of Dumbarton. In obedience to the summons, Wood compeared before the brethren of the Presbytery, in the Church of Dumbarton, on the 14th October. On being interrogated, he made the following admissions: that he had gone to that excommunicate person, James Graham, and talked familiarly with him, and blessed his table, and had done so against wholesome

counsel given him to the contrary ; that he had read the proclamation referred to from his pulpit, and had also used persuasion with his parishioners to join Montrose ; that he had persuaded the messenger to read the proclamation at the Cross of Dumbarton : that he had dealt with the keeper of Dumbarton Castle for the surrender of that fortress, and on his refusal, accompanied with the words, "there is no loon like a loon minister," he (Wood) had replied, " There is no loon like a loon Provost, who keeps the King's Castle against those who are sent by the King to receive it." On these charges of what the Presbytery describe as " gross malignancy," and " fearful breaches of the League and Covenant," Wood without any more inquiry was censured by the brethren and deposed from the office of the ministry.¹ But Philiphaugh had brought work of a still more objectionable character to the keeper of Dumbarton Castle. A number of the Irish prisoners taken there had been committed to his charge, and, though we have not discovered any record relating specially to them, there can be little doubt but that they suffered death without either assize or process under the sweeping resolution to that effect with which the Covenanters disgraced their cause. In 1646, a change was made in the government of the Castle. Sempill seems to have wearied the Estates with "lying at the pool to be heard," and in June of the above year, they issued a commission for putting Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, in possession of the fortress.² He had previously had a commission from the Duke of Lennox to the same effect, and it is certainly difficult to harmonize the different acts of the new governor with his duty to either the one party or the other. With the exception of a barrel of "bowstrings" (which is to be hoped

¹ Presbytery Records in Dennistoun MS., Ad. Lib.

² The particulars given in the text connected with Sir Charles Erskine's occupancy of the Castle are based in a great measure

upon a series of letters relating thereto, possessed by James Erskine, Aberdeen, copies of which exist in the Dennistoun MS., Ad. Lib.

were for the use of the archers), the stores handed over to Sir Charles, varied little from the inventory indorsed by Sempill. Being under obligation to keep up "the house of Dunglass" as well as Dumbarton, he seems to have found it necessary to take more summary measures than his predecessor had done for obtaining the necessary furnishings. Soon after his appointment he is found taking supplies for the garrison from such malignants as had joined in the "Engagement" with Hamilton against England, or were in arms against the country—fulfilling, no doubt, in these particulars the delicate hint given by Loudon, "although you do not plunder, it will be no great fault to weaken the hands of the wicked for the good service of the country." The treasonable light in which the "Engagement" was viewed by the clergy is brought out in a declaration signed by Elphinstone, minister of Dumbarton, and addressed "To the Right Honourable, the Committee for Purging the Army." "These are to testify" (he writes), "that the officers of Sir Charles Erskine's troop presented some of the troopers at the last meeting of the Presbytery, offering satisfaction for their being upon the late Engagement against England, and these officers having used diligence for obtaining testimonials, but in divers others no satisfactory testimonials is as yet come to the Presbytery quhairthrow the Presbytery met again on the day appointed and had given in a private testimonial; but they have endeavoured to have the testimonials with all possible diligence." The levies, however, small as they were, continued to be indifferently collected, and at length Loudon, as commissioner for the Duke of Lennox, gave authority to repair the building and mount the guns, while a welcome addition was made to the garrison by command of Charles's general, David Leslie.¹ In the early part of 1651, and

¹ "For Sir Charles Erskine, Governor of Dumbartane Castell, or in his absence, for any commanding officer there.

"COMERAD,—You will be pleased according to this order given to me by the Parliament, after sight hereof, to receive into the Castell of Dumbartane Major Easton with

even after the arrival of these reinforcements, the whole garrison does not appear to have numbered more than two officers, seven non-commissioned officers, three gunners, and sixty rank and file. In July following, an addition of twenty men was made by order of the King, then at Kilsyth,¹ and there can be no doubt that by this time the governor had availed himself of his wide commission for procuring ammunition forwarded from Perth in April by Hamilton and others, and confirmed towards the end of July by the King himself.² Pressed on in the manner indicated by these instructions, the governor's exactions brought him into hostility with the burgesses of Dumbarton, who entered a complaint against him before the Estates, and obtained

twenty-four soldiers and one serjant; and when you are absent he is to command the place. You may also give him as much ammunition as may be necessary for maintaining the house of Dunglas. Wherein fail not as you will answer. Given at Stirling, this 28th day of December, 1650.

"DAVID LESLIE."

¹ "CHARLES R.—These are to require you to receive twenty men into the Castle and make the best use of them for defence therof; and have a special care of that place, as you will answer unto us. Given at our leageur at Kilsyth, 2d July, and third year of our reign.

"To the governor of our
Castell of Dunbartane."

² Perth, 18th Apryll, 1641.

The Committee doth hereby give command to Sir Charles Erskine to seize on all the ammunition and arms that he can find within the toun of Glasgow, and to carry and keep it in the Castle of Dunbartane for the public use until farder orders be given thereanent.

(Signed) HAMILTON, GLENCAIRN,
CRAWFORD, and LINDSAY, &c., &c.

"CHARLES R.—These are to require you to provyde our Castell of Dunbartane for four months with all sorts of provisions needful and for that effect these give you warrant and command to seize upon any victuals and provisions necessary for your use within the shyres of Dunbartane, Ranthrow, Butt, or toun of Glasco, and what provisions shall be so taken by you and others shall be repaid to the shyres out of the first and readiest of the excise and maintenance of the toun of Glasco. You are not to fail herein as you will answer at your highest peril.

"Gevin at our court at Stirling, the 26th day of July, 1651.



"For Sir Charles Erskine,
governor of our
Castell of Dunbartane."

a remission in their favour of the imposts levied upon all vessels passing up the Clyde. After the battle of Worcester, which so much changed the aspect of affairs in Scotland, the Committee of Estates sent instructions to Erskine to deliver up the Castle to Major-General Lambert. The governor refused at first to have any dealings with so blasphemous and perfidious an enemy as Cromwell,¹ but finding that a sequestration had been entered against his estate by the victorious Puritan, he rendered the Castle to Lambert on the 5th of January 1652, under conditions which secured immunity to the garrison and the free use of his property to himself.² Cromwell's soldiers held the Castle apparently without molestation till December,

¹ Sir Charles writes thus to the Estates:—

"Please your grace I received yours of the 25th November, relating to your interest in this place, which at another time I would be loth to question, but your desire to me should be an absolute command. I am only sorry I am not in a capacity to improve the trust reposed in me, which if I had I would study to express in some other way than in yielding up this place at your desire. It is a month since I received an summons for surrender of this garrison, to which I returned such answer as my honour requyred. I hope your grace does not expect that I shall deliver this house to any without being satisfied of honourable conditions, which when I receive I shall give such an answer in obedience to your commands as becometh me."

2. The conditions signed by Lambert on the 29th December 1651, were to this effect:—

1. That the Castle of Dumbarton together with the arms, ordnance, ammunition, and all other provisions of war, be delivered into the hands of Major-General Lambert (or whom he shall

appoint to receive them) for the use of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England with the exceptions and reservations after specified.

2. That all the officers and soldiers of the said garrison shall have liberty to march out with their arms, colours flying, drums beating, match lighted, bullets in their bag, and baggage, to the town of Dumbarton, there to be disbanded, with passes to go to their own homes without trouble or molestation.
3. That the governor Sir Charles Erskine and the officers in the garrison shall have liberty to ride or walk, with usual travelling arms, about their lawful occasions, acting nothing prejudicial to the Commonwealth of England.
4. That Major-General Lambert shall give his own, or endeavour to procure any other passes required, with safe conduct to any of the persons foresaid that desire to go beyond sea about their lawful occasions without trouble to their persons or estates.
5. That it is provided and reserved that the

1653, when at the instance of Glencairn a proclamation was read at the Cross of Dumbarton threatening confiscation against any who might supply the garrison with arms, horses, or ammunition.¹ In the summer of the following year an attempt was made against it under somewhat peculiar circumstances. After Glencairn had been superseded in the command of the King's troops by General Middleton, an unseemly quarrel between these two noblemen led to the separation of the former from the main body of the army, then in Sutherland. Middleton, thus left to contend single-handed with the Roundheads of Cromwell, considered it advisable to proceed through the Highlands, southwards, for the purpose of recruiting his force. He continued

Duke of Lennox, notwithstanding the first article hereof, may make his application and claim to the Parliament of England for his right to or satisfaction for the ordnance, ammunition, and others foresaid provided the said Duke make his claim within three months after the rendering of the said Castle.

6. That Major-General Lambert, in consideration of the surrender of the Castle shall with all speed after rendition thereof write to his excellency Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and use such other means as may be made effectual that the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England may allow and appoint that Sir Charles Erskine shall from henceforth enjoy his estate and goods free from sequestration, confiscation, or composition, he carrying himself peaceably and acting nothing prejudicial to the affairs of the Commonwealth of England, and that from henceforth the house or houses of the said Sir Charles shall not be garrisoned but upon urgent necessity.

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7. That the said Sir Charles shall forthwith have liberty to live quietly at his own house, and enjoy his estate without interruption or molestation until the pleasure of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England be fully known, and shall have passes and protections from Major-General Lambert or the Commander-in-chief for that purpose.

Given under my name and seal this 29th day of December, 1651.



¹ The extent to which the burgesses were taxed by the "quarterings" made upon them is illustrated by a document in the Burgh Records, entitled, "Roll for the payment of Colonel Campbell's regiment of dragoons," quartered in the town from February to April, 1651. See Dumbarton Burgh, vol. ii.

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his march till he reached Rossdhu, the residence of Sir John Colquhoun, a warm adherent of the royalist party, and which place had shortly before been the scene of contention between the covenanting and royalist forces.¹ Here the army was recruited in strength, and augmented in numbers, though neither of these advantages saved them from being defeated at Lochgair, on the 26th July following. A treaty proposed by Glencairn, having been broken off, the Earl ordered a body of two hundred horse, stationed in Renfrewshire, to ford the Clyde, for the purpose of surprising Monk's force in Dumbarton.² The latter were quietly seated at dinner when the hostile party entered the town ; but though attacked thus unexpectedly, they were not slow in defending their position, and only submitted to Glencairn after thirty or forty of their number were slain. To the Earl the victory was attended with little or no permanent advantage ; but the booty, consisting of the horses belonging to the defeated party, and about two hundred loads of corn, was considered no bad recompense for the danger encountered, Monk, hearing of the disaster which had befallen his detachment, evinced considerable anxiety to complete the treaty with Glencairn, formerly referred to, and it was carried into effect on the green at the foot of the Castle Rock, 4th September 1654. The conditions were, that the royalist officers should be secured in their lives and fortunes, and allowed their horses and arms ; that the soldiers should be allowed their

¹ In the early part of 1654, when Dennistoun of Colgrain marched northward from Rossdhu with the Lennox fencibles, the house fell an easy prey to a party from Glasgow under Lieutenant-Colonel Cottrel. Soon afterwards it was occupied by the Laird of Macnaughton and young Maxwell of Newark, but they were again dislodged on the 21st of March, by a cavalry force from Stirling under Colonel Cooper.—Dennistoun MS. In Crom-

well's "Act of Grace and Pardon," passed in 1654, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss was excepted therefrom, and fined in the sum of £2000 for the part he had taken in the royalist cause.

² In some accounts of the skirmish, Glencairn is said to have ordered Sir George Maxwell of Newark to cross the Leven at Balloch, and surprise Monk's troops from that quarter.

horses but not their arms, for which, however, they were to receive full value ; and that all claiming the privilege should receive passes to carry them back to their homes.¹ Thus ended at this time the last hopes of the royalists in Scotland. For nearly six years after this date the country continued under the rule of the Protector, the troops necessary for the defence of the district being quartered among the burgesses, and occupying on some occasions the Council room in the Tolbooth.²

¹ Graham of Duchrie's Account of Glencairn's Expedition.

² Burgh Records, October 6th, 1655. A meeting is there mentioned as being held in the Clerk's chamber, "as the Tolbuith is occupied by the soldiers quartered in the burgh, conform to ane Act of Parliament made thereanent 9 Apryll 1653." The grievance of "quartering" the troops is again referred to on Christmas Day 1658. "The qth day, anent the grievance gevin in be the persones in this burgh vpon quhom the horsmen and horss cum to this burgh this winter ar quartered, Schawing that the allowance of 5th ilk weik for ilk man is not sufficient, but too little to furneiss the fyre, bedding,

and uptaking of thair rooms, and that the persones are not abill to furneiss the coill to them, The regulating and answering of the same is deferred till the provist and the ither baillie return from Edinburgh. James Mun and Williame Craig are, with the tua quartermasters, ordanit to cast on vpon the horss within the territory of this burgh sex scoire fiftie-sex loads of coills, to be brocht in be them to the housses qⁱⁿ the trowpars are quartered, and this cost to be p^{rtly} expedate that the coills may be laid in betuix and this day 8 days, or the 8 of January nixtocum at fardest, The trowpars being estimat to be twentie in number, and appointing sex load to ilk trowpar for the interim."

CHAPTER XI.

1660 to 1688.

THE RESTORATION—LAUDERDALE'S LETTER TO THE PRESBYTERIES—EPISCOPACY RE-ESTABLISHED—COUNTY VALUATION—PERSECUTION OF THE COVENANTERS—CASE OF JOHN ZUIL OF DARLEITH AND OTHERS IN DUMBARTONSHIRE—THE EARL OF DUMBARTON—COUNTY BUSINESS—ACCESSION OF JAMES VII.—ARGVLL'S EXPEDITION—THE COUNTY MISGOVERNED—LETTER TO THE LAIRD OF LUSS FOR AID—DUMBARTONSHIRE AT THE REVOLUTION.



On the 20th of May 1660, Charles II. landed at Dover after a nine years' exile, and on the 29th of the same month, he entered London to take possession of the throne of his ancestors, amid all those outward marks of joy which a people mad with loyalty could manifest. So far as attachment to the King was concerned, the Scotch were for a time almost as extravagant in their demonstrations as their southern neighbours. To escape the imputation of being disloyal or puritanical, even sober men became drunk and frantic, and in the height of their excitement gave utterance to expressions which they lived bitterly to regret. In Dumbarton, Charles was proclaimed with extraordinary rejoicings. For this King "of blessed worth," drums beat and bonfires blazed over the burgh, psalms were sung and prayers offered up at the Cross where the proclamation was read and affixed with all due solemnity.¹ As if

¹ Burgh Records 18th May 1660. The said day his Majestie King Charles the Second, of blessed worth, being in the twelff yeir of his reigne, was proclamit King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the ffaith, and that with all dew solemnitie in [haiveing] on of bonfy^m throw the burgh

and singing of psalms at the Croce, efter prayer maid be the minister, Mr. David Elphinstone, and with beating of drums through this burgh, and in reading the proclamation with all dew respect, and efter affixing the samen upon the Croce.

enough had not been done in May, the rejoicings were renewed in July ; and for years afterwards every 29th of May was, in accordance with an Act of Parliament, observed as "ane memoriall of his Majesties happie restoration."¹ The heads of the old Scottish houses were not backward in paying court to the new Sovereign, nor were they ill rewarded for their promptness. Partly it is believed through the influence of Clarendon, Middleton was made Commissioner to the Parliament ; Rothes was appointed President of the Council, and Lauderdale became Secretary of State and a gentleman of the bed-chamber. As an illustration of the unsettled views entertained by the King regarding Scotland, it may be mentioned, that in the records of the Presbytery of Dumbarton is a copy of the celebrated letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, announcing the King's determination to uphold the Church of Scotland, "as by law established." The epistle is signed by Lauderdale, but the real author was James Sharp, whom the Presbyterians had entrusted to represent their cause to his Majesty, but who apostatized from their principles, and became in after years too well-known as the Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Church, Kirkton remarks, was divided as to the meaning of the words "by law established," one party maintaining that the King thereby engaged to defend Presbyterianism for ever, as that was the form of

¹ Burgh Records, 28th May 1664. The qth day, the morne being the Sabbath day, and the twentie-nynt day of May, appointed be Act of Parliament to be kept in all tyme coming as ane memoriall of his Majestie's restauratione to the exercise of his royall authority, Thairfor it is ordanit that the inhabitants in the Croce Vennall contribuit for ane bonfyre to be at the Colledge, The inhabitants above Patrick Williamsons door and Sussanna Cunynghames (thay being includit) till the Town Heid, to contribuit for ane bonfyre to be at the lyme kill, The in-

habitants above Patrick Williamsons door and Sussanna Cuninghame till the Croce, to contribuit for ane bonfyre to be above the Croce, opposite to—M'Flemings house, The inhabitants from Baillie Watsouns house, and David Watsoun's inclusive, to Johne Cunyghames inclusive, on both sydes of the streit, to contribuit for ane bonfyre to be at the Trone, and the inhabitants doun fra Johne Cunynghame to William Dennestouns, on both sydes of the streit, to contribuit for ane bonfyre to be at the schole-house yaird or at the Trench.

worship then established by law, while another contended that the phrase imported no more than that the King would maintain such form of Church Government as he might think proper to establish by law. In what sense it was apprehended by the Presbytery of Dumbarton there is no means now of determining, but they were so pleased with the royal message, that on the 25th September 1660, they gave thanks to God for his Majesty's gracious declaration, and ordered his letter to be read in all the congregations of the Presbytery the following Sabbath.

During the sitting of the Parliament which met on January 1661, all doubt was removed as to the course Charles intended to pursue towards the Church of Scotland. A short time before this the Episcopalian zealots had caused the inscriptions to be effaced from the tombs of Henderson in Edinburgh, and Gillespie in Kirkcaldy; Rutherford's "Lex Rex" had been burned by the common hangman; Clarendon supported by Middleton, Glencairn, and the apostate Sharp, had declared for Episcopacy in Scotland; and a Parliament as obsequious as the Commissioner himself could desire, showed a disgraceful alacrity in undoing all that had been accomplished in the bygone years of strife. It was declared illegal for the people to enter into any convention having for its object the altering of the civil or ecclesiastical polity of the kingdom; the Solemn League and Covenant was annuled; Synods were prohibited from meeting; and the Recissory Act swept from the statute book all that had been done between the years 1633 and 1661 towards establishing liberty in civil matters and Presbyterianism in things ecclesiastical. In their extravagant loyalty, the Parliament entreated the King to accept a yearly subsidy of forty thousand pounds "towards the entertainment of any such force as his Majesty should think proper to raise and support within the kingdom." Of this subsidy the proportion borne by the sheriffdom of Dumbarton and the burghs within the same, amounted

to £194.¹ The Commissioners for uplifting the tax in Dumbartonshire were, Lord Fleming, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, John Napier

¹ COUNTY VALUATION—1657.

Just Copy of the Old Valuation Roll, which was subscribed by the Commissioners in the year 1657, with the Sub-divisions, and the Valuation of the Freeholders of the Shire of Dumbarton. Transcribed by John Colquhoun of Garshake, at Milton, the 20th day of June 1690.

EASTER KILPATRICK.

	Lib.	s.	d.
Drumry Lands,	774	0	0
Cloberhill,	115	0	0
Drumchappel,	120	0	0
Hutcheson,	150	0	0
Law,	125	0	0
Garscadden,	240	0	0
Ledcamroch,	240	0	0
Killermont,	148	9	0
Lochbrae,	23	13	0
Chappletoun,	65	0	0
Garscube,	488	6	8
Kilmardinny,	135	0	0
Mains and Keystoun Lands,	390	0	0
Spittle of Tombuy,	25	0	0
Balvie Lands,	557	13	4
Craigtoun,	315	0	0
Achinclouh,	385	0	0
Summa,	4,297	2	6

PARISH OF BONHILL.

Meikle Tillechoun,	115	0	0
Middle Tillechoun,	105	0	0
Little Tillechoun,	60	0	0
Balloch,	245	0	0
Stuckrodger,	55	0	0
Camrons,	117	10	0
Bonill,	445	0	0
Darleith,	121	5	0

	Lib.	s.	d.
Ballagan,	45	0	0
Hiltoun,	66	13	4
Naperstoun,	66	13	4
Blarvolts,	22	13	4
Milntoun,	80	6	8
Miln,	25	0	0
Easter Auchinkerroch,	60	0	0
Wester Auchinkerroch,	65	0	0
Blarquhoise,	90	0	0
Dumbaine,	20	0	0
Ladrishbeg,	80	0	0
Miln thereof,	45	0	0
Noblestoun,	110	0	0
Ladytown, and Margt. Breadie,	140	0	0
Summa,	2,179	15	0

GLENNEGILLS BARONY.

Cattermiln,	60	0	0
James Buchanan of Spittle,	87	10	0
Easter Catter,	132	10	0
Middle Catter,	160	0	0
Wester Catter,	145	0	0
John Lillburn,	20	0	0
Blarlusk,	87	10	0
Blarnyll,	82	10	0
Ledrishmore,	75	0	0
Shenagills,	80	0	0
Meikle Batturrich,	117	10	0
Little Batturrich,	55	0	0
Spittle of Batturrich,	12	10	0
Knockour,	65	0	0
Summa,	3,495	6	6

PARISH OF DUMBARTON.

Kirkmichaell,	360	13	4
And for Cordalls,	10	0	0
Summa,	370	13	4

of Kilmahew, Robert Hamilton of Barnes, Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Balvey, William Bontein of Ardoch, John Sempill younger of

PARISH OF CARDROSS.

	Lib.	s.	d.
Kilmahew,	610	0	0
Colgrain,	540	0	0
Keppoch,	110	0	0
Blarhennechan,	85	0	0
Ferme (Ardardan),	320	0	0
Archibald Bontine,	220	0	0
Ardoch,	500	0	0
Blarshelloch,	30	0	0
Ardoch, for the Duke,	65	0	0
Maines,	85	0	0
Kyperminshoch,	85	0	0
Duke's feu duty,	25	0	0
Succoth,	35	0	0
Dalmoak,	80	0	0
Pillenflet,	40	0	0
Dalquhorn, Nether,	120	0	0
Dalquhorn, Upper,	100	0	0
Little Kirktown,	20	0	0
Ferryland,	5	0	0
Cordalls,	10	0	0
Castlehill,	16	0	0
Dalreach,	15	0	0
Robert M'Intyre,	15	0	0
Archibald Chambers,	4	0	0
John Corruith,	6	0	0
Patrick Reid,	6	0	0
John Reid,	3	0	0
Summa,	3,150	0	0

PARISH OF KILMARONOCK.

Duke of Lennox and James			
Matthie,	1,675	0	0
John Buchanan of Ross,	260	0	2
Ardoch-Campbell,	120	10	2
Little-Gartnellan,	100	0	0
Gallingad,	159	16	6

PARISH OF ROWE.

	Lib.	s.	d.
Ardincapple,	974	6	8
Ballernik,	240	0	0
Auchenvennal,	80	0	0
Stuck,	60	0	0
Drumfad,	40	0	0
Gortane,	30	2	0
Luss, his lands,	720	0	0
Summa,	2,144	6	8

PARISH OF LUSS.

M'Farland,	614	14	0
Gartardan,	120	0	0
Tullihentall,	50	0	0
Baron M'Auslane,	80	0	0
Camstraddan,	108	0	0
Torr,	8	0	0
Coulkypien,	18	0	0
Achintulloch,	36	0	0
Luss,	1,200	0	0
Summa,	2,234	14	0

WESTER KILPATRICK.

Luss, with Barnhill,	930	0	0
The Laird of Luss, his Sub-division in Wester Kilpatrick,—			
Mains of Colquhoun,	164	0	0
Barnhill, Overtoun, and			
Middleton,	156	0	2
Chappeltoun,	200	0	0
Milntoun,	84	0	0
Overtoun and Dunglas,	125	0	0
Dunbuck and Auchentorlie,	237	0	0
And more,	42	0	0
Dargavell,	90	0	0
Spittle,	56	0	0
Gavinburn,	220	0	0

Fulwood, Aulay M'Aulay fiar of Ardincapill, Archibald Stewart of Scotstoun, James Fleming of Oxgang, James Fleming of Balloch, Major George Noble, Walter Watson, John Cunningham, Robert Watson, and John Smollet, burgesses of Dumbarton. In February 1661, the Castle was taken possession of on behalf of King Charles, by Major George Grant, who had under his command one hundred foot soldiers, "all approven blades in the royal interest." Having taken every precaution their ingenuity could devise to strengthen the royal prerogative and humble the kirk, the royalist party, inflamed by success, and in defiance of at least two acts of indemnity, sought to bring the leaders of the opposite side to trial for the part

	Lib.	s.	d.						
Dalnotre Castle,	40	0	0		P<small>ARISH OF ROSNEATH.</small>				
Archibald Colquhoun,	42	0	0			Lib.	s.	d.	
James Burnside of Closs,	38	5	0		Marquess of Argyll,	640	0	0	
James Cunningham,	36	0	0		Captain of Carruk,	340	0	4	
Dalmuir,	187	10	0		Clachane,	83	6	8	
William Hamilton of Auchen-					Ayllie,	80	0	0	
tortlie,	80	0	0		Ardintaine,	143	6	8	
William Johnstoun, portioner					Luss fourteen merk land,	80	0	0	
there,	30	0	0		Robert Douglass,	150	0	0	
Bolquhannaran,	460	0	0		Baillie of Rosneath,	180	0	0	
Edinbarnut,	95	0	0						
John and William Johnstoune,					Summa,	1,696	13	0	
in Auchenleik,	90	0	0						
William Johnstoun, there,	28	10	0		P<small>ARISH OF LENZIE.</small>				
Margaret Gray, there, now John					Earl of Wigtoun,	6,347	0	0	
Bryson,	13	5	0		Lord Boyd,	875	0	0	
John Douglass, Milntoun, Dun-					Gartshore,	350	0	0	
glass,	85	0	0		Achinvoll,	295	0	0	
Barns,	800	0	0		Woodellie,	211	0	0	
Robert and John M'Nair's, in					Kirkintulloch,	1,167	10	0	
Kilbuy,	116	13	4		William Stark,	125	0	0	
Robert Monson,	95	0	0		Oxgang and Foordcroft,	62	10	0	
John Sprewl, Milntoun Sprewl,	97	10	0		Saint Flannarie,	12	10	0	
Faifla Wester,	24	0	0						
Orbistoun's Lands, a feu duty,	741	0	0		Summa,	9,445	10	0	
Summa,	4,437	13	4		Summa of the whole shire,	33,451	14	2	
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they had taken in public affairs during the King's exile. Among the first of their victims was Archibald, Marquis of Argyll. Seized at Whitehall, while seeking an opportunity of paying homage to His Majesty, he was sent a prisoner to Edinburgh, and being tried by a court fully determined to convict, he was, chiefly by the testimony of letters written in friendly confidence to General Monk, found guilty of favouring Cromwell, and sentenced to be executed. He suffered with less show of alarm than the people expected, and certainly with more firmness than he had manifested on many occasions throughout his life. In accordance with the sentence, his head was fixed on the Tolbooth,¹ but his body, delivered up to his friends, was conveyed to Kilpatrick, in Dumbartonshire, and from thence, by water, to Kilmun, where it was laid in the family burying-ground.

In the early part of 1662, the King, in a letter to the Council, fully explained what he meant by "protecting the church as by law established," which excited so much enthusiasm in the Presbytery of Dumbarton. "We did (admits his Majesty) by our letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, declare our purpose to maintain the government of the Church of Scotland as settled by law; and our Parliament having since that time not only rescinded all the acts since the troubles began, but declared also all these pretended Parliaments null and void, and left to us the securing and settling the church government; We, therefore, in compliance with that Act Recissory, from our respect to the glory of God, the good and interest of the Protestant religion, from our pious care and princely zeal for the order, unity, peace, and stability of the church, and its better harmony with the government of the churches in England

¹ It is said that the Countess of Caithness, Argyll's daughter, sought an audience of Middleton for the purpose of craving that her father's head might be given up to her

for burial, but the brutal minister not only refused the request, but threatened to kick the fair suppliant out of his presence.

and Ireland, have, after mature deliberation, declared to those of our Council here our firm resolution to interpose ~~ott~~ royal authority for the restoring of that church to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles, and during the reigns of our royal father and grandfather of blessed memory." The Council made a submissive answer; a proclamation was issued announcing the restoration of Episcopacy; and Presbyterianism fell, as has been remarked, without even the honour of a dissolution. Among those in the Presbytery of Dumbarton who were ejected for remaining faithful to the Presbyterian form of church government were—David Elphinstone, Dumbarton; Robert Mitchell, Luss; Andrew Gale (or Gattie), Rosneath; Matthew Ramsay, Old Kilpatrick; Robert Law, New Kilpatrick; and James Walkinshaw, Baldernock. Those who conformed to the new order of things were—Robert Watson, Cardross; John Stewart, Bonhill; Thomas Mitchell, Kilmaronock (afterwards deposed); William Stirling, Balfron; James Craig, Killearn; and Allan Ferguson, Drymen. Now opens that terrible chapter in Scottish history in which the evil passions of the worst of royalists stand out in strong and almost appalling contrast to the humility and long-suffering of those who at least acted as contending for the truth. With counsellors like Middleton, Lauderdale, and Sharp, and soldiers like Graham, Dalziel, and Turner, everything was tried that could be devised to torture a people into Episcopacy or rebellion. But it was to no purpose. As "Indulgences" and "Accommodations" failed to make the bishops respected, so the perils with which attendance on the conventicle was beset seemed only to endear it the more to the faithful Covenanters; and, considering the ingenious malignity with which they were watched and pursued by their enemies, the wonder is that their offences against the civil law were not more serious and frequent than they are known to have been. In March 1664, the ministers within the Presbytery of Dumbarton received an epistle

from the Archbishop, inquiring if there were any within the bounds who withdrew from public worship or kept conventicles. The answer returned was, that they knew of none who were addicted to these practices; upon which they were admonished to make due search and trial, and report again—a proceeding evidently implying that the report was either made by recently inducted curates who knew nothing about the general condition of the Presbytery, or by ministers who were presumed to be familiar with practices they were bound to condemn.¹ To prevent the people in Dumbartonshire from attending the ministrations of the outed pastors, Hamilton of Orbiston, then sheriff of the county, was empowered, first, to employ spies who would mix with the Covenanters for the purpose of discovering their retreats, and then to levy a band of soldiers who would act upon the information so communicated. On some occasions these troops appear to have come off second-best in their encounters with the Covenanters. Kirkton mentions an instance which occurred in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, where a company of foot, approaching to dissolve a conventicle, were met by a body of Highlanders, who, arraying themselves so as to defend the worshippers, forced the royalists to retreat in confusion before ever a blow was struck. On the 17th August 1678, “the magistrates and counsell being informit that notwithstanding of the bond given be this burgh for abstaining from frequenting of houss and field coventicles, and living ordourlie conforme to and in obedience to the law, yet diverse and many

¹ Seven years afterwards they made a different report. In obedience to injunctions received from head-quarters, they intimated that Thomas Nelson in Drumry, Hugh Smith in Gartshore, and Patrick Simpson in Buchanan, were all proved to have held conventicles in their houses during the hours of divine service, whereby so many were

drawn away from their several churches, that the kirk-sessions could not be held. Among the “fugitives” against whom the proclamation of 5th May 1685, was directed were—Andrew Campbell, mason, Dumbarton; John Stark, younger of Killermont; Robert Balloch, Barscob; and several in the parishes of Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld.

persons within this burgh hes bene disorderlie by frequently field conventicles, thairfor they ordain ane letter to be drawne and sent to [Ed^r] to tak ordyre whether the magistrates may themsellves proceed and fyne, or whether the fyne of magistrates or counsellors who have given band, and yet shall be found guiltie, falls under the cognition of his Ma^{ties} Privie Counsell." ¹

Among the numerous instances of suffering for the truth's sake, one recorded by Wodrow deserves particular mention here. John Zuil (or Yuille)² spent the early part of his life as a writer in Inverary, where he was much respected, and filled the office of chief magistrate with acceptance to the community. Acquiring, by purchase, from Darleith of that Ilk, the eight merk land of Darleith, in Dumbartonshire, he removed to that place about the year 1670. Having become attached while very young to the principles of Presbyterianism, he availed himself in after life of such opportunities as occurred of showing that his love for them was not lessened by the perils to which they exposed him. As Zuil does not seem to have sought at any time to conceal his predilections, his conduct soon brought him under the notice of the commissioners appointed to suppress conventicles in Dumbartonshire. He was cited to appear before them in October 1684, but sickness interfering to prevent him, his case stood over till February 19, 1685. On this day the commissioners present were William Hamilton of

¹ An occurrence under date 21st September, may be read in connection with the above:—Commissioners were then appointed to proceed to the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Dundonald, "for the mair speedy liberation of William Craig, baillie, Adam Colquhoun, maltman, and Robert Hervey, chuirergean, who were this day by order of His Ma^{ties} Privie Counsell, made prisoners by ane partie of His Ma^{ties} guard, and taken to the tolbuith of Ed^r. Among the fines im-

posed by Middleton in the Parliament of 1662, mention is made of Patrick Ewing, Dumbarton, 600 lib.

² Buchanan of Auchmar claims the Yuilles as a branch of the family of Buchanan, and mentions that the name originated in the circumstance of one of them being born on a Yule or Christmas night. This legend has been adopted by the Buchanan Society, who admit members of the name of Yuille

Orbiston, Humphrey Colquhoun, fiar of Luss, Major George Arnott, Lieutenant-Governor of Dumbarton Castle, and Archibald M'Aulay of Ardincaple. John Zuil appeared to answer the charge made against himself and his wife, Ann Fisher. He admitted that he had withdrawn himself from the parish church since the indemnity was passed, and declined to give the usual test of loyalty by accepting the oath of supremacy.¹ He was thereupon fined in the sum of £1000 sterling, and as he refused payment of the amount, was conveyed a prisoner to the Castle of Dumbarton. In the month following his imprisonment, Mrs Zuil, no doubt seriously affected by the result of the trial, was seized with a severe illness, and her husband craved permission that he might at least visit her from time to time; but this was denied him; nor was it not until his son Robert, and a son-in-law became bond for £1000 that his jailers accorded him liberty to attend even the funeral of that wife whom death had relieved from further suffering. He returned to prison within the prescribed time, and lay there eighteen or twenty months, when the persecution became a little modified in character, and he was set at liberty. During his confinement, however, he contracted

¹ Among those cited to appear at the above court on the same day, were John Campbell of Carrick, and Christian Elliott, his wife; John Napier of Kilmahew, and Lillias Colquhoun, his wife; Isobel Buchanan, widow of Archibald Buchanan of Drumhead; Claud Hamilton of Barnes, and — Stewart, his wife; Hugh Crawford of Cloberhill, and — Hamilton his wife; John Douglas of Mains, and Elizabeth Hamilton, his wife; William Colquhoun of Craigton, and — Stirling, his wife: William Semple of Dalmock, and — Dennistoun, his wife; and William Noble, fiar of Ardardan. Napier of Kilmahew, failing to compear, was treated as having ad-

mitted the charge, and fined £3000 sterling. Campbell of Carrick also failed to compear but his wife admitted that she had heard unlicensed ministers expound the Scriptures in her husband's house, and he was therefore fined in the sum of £1500 sterling; Isobel Buchanan was fined in the sum of £100 sterling. There is no mention made in the record regarding the others. In the whole of the above cases where convictions took place the magistrates of Dumbarton received instructions to imprison the parties concerned till the fine was paid, or until they made satisfaction otherwise to William, Duke of Queensberry, Lord High Treasurer.

the seeds of a disease which cut him off in January 1688. Thus lived, suffered, and died, one whom even the enemies of the Covenant have not charged with any offence more grievous than that of worshipping God according to the dictates of his conscience.

A few days before Yuille's examination William Carstairs (afterwards the celebrated Principal), who had just been subjected to the torture,¹ was removed from Edinburgh to Dumbarton Castle. Along with him was William Spence, another sufferer for conscience sake; and in the same place in 1671, had been Robert Kerr of Kersland, and John Cuningham of Bedlaye.

Among those who, about this time, obtained an unenviable distinction by the zeal he evinced in persecuting the adherents of the Covenant, was a member of the ancient house of Douglas, who bore the title of Earl of Dumbarton. Lord George Douglas, third son of the first Marquis of Douglas, was in his early years attached to the Court of Louis XIV.; but being brought over by Charles II., in 1663, and made Earl of Dumbarton two years afterwards, he sought to evince his gratitude for this and other favours by opposing Presbytery and shooting its professors.² It is from this military

¹ Mr. Dunlop of Keppoch, Dumbartonshire, retained in his possession the thumb-screw with which Carstairs was tortured. Tradition says that Carstairs, after he had secured the favour of William of Orange, exhibited the instrument to His Majesty, who, following the bent of his inquiring mind, requested to experience the power of the screw. Carstairs—so goes the story—turned it with that delicacy which might be expected when a clergyman squeezes the thumb of a monarch, upon which His Majesty feeling no great pain, jocularly upbraided his minister for giving way under such a slight compulsitor. But Carstairs, unwilling to leave upon the King's mind an unfavourable impression regarding the tor-

ture he had undergone, gave the screw one effectual turn, and not only compelled the King to cry for mercy, but to confess that, under such an infliction, a man might be made to say anything.—Scott's "Notes on Fountainhall," p. 102. An excellent life of Carstairs, based partly on original documents descending to him through the Dunlop family, has recently (1875) been issued by the Rev. R. H. Story, D.D., Rosneath.

² Upon the gravestone of the martyrs buried at Mauchline there is the inscription—

"Bloody Dumbarton, Douglas, and Dundee,
Moved by the devil and the laird of Lee,
Dragged these five men to death."

C. K. Sharpe's "Notes to Kirkton," p. 446.

commander that the air, "Dumbarton's Drums beat bonnie, O," is supposed to have taken its origin; and the popular opinion in this case is confirmed by the high authority of Sir Walter Scott, who more than hints that it had its origin in the bloody times of the persecution.¹ George, the first Earl of Dumbarton, was succeeded by his son George, who bore the commission of a Lieutenant-Colonel in the British army during the rebellion in 1715. He died abroad without issue; and the title becoming then extinct, was never revived.

In 1681, James, Duke of York, during a "progress" to revive the fading loyalty of the west country Whigs, proceeded to Dumbarton, and was on the 4th October made a burgess and guild brother of the burgh, along with many gentlemen of his suite. The Test Oath was taken by the Provost, bailies, and councillors, within a week after the royal visit. An oath similar in terms was taken by the Commissioners for the county on the 12th July 1683.² The burdensome quarterings of troops—foot and horse—over the county are repeatedly alluded to in the Supply Records. In November 1684, Commissioners were appointed to see Sir James Turner, and intimate that the shire was ready to comply with His Majesty's commands regarding the troop of dragoons. Sir James, writing to Hamilton of Orbiston,³ requests that his respects be given

¹ The reader of "Waverley" will remember that when Gifted Gilfillan and his party encounter Major Melville at Cairnvreckan, the first signal of their approach was a rub-a-dub-dub, like that with which the fire-drum startles the inhabitants of a Scotch burgh. In justice to the drummer, the author records, that before setting out he announced to his leader there was no march or point of war known in the British army he could not play. He accordingly commenced with "Dumbarton's Drums," but was instantly silenced by Gifted Gilfillan, who refused to permit his

followers to move to this profane and even, as he said, persecuting tune, and in its stead commanded the drummer to beat the 119th Psalm. As this was beyond the capacity of the drubber of sheepskin, he was fain to have recourse to the inoffensive row-de-dow, which interrupted the circuit of the third bottle at the table of the gallant Major.—"Waverley," cap. 34.

² Supply Records.

³ Dated "Gorbals, 7th December, at night." No year mentioned.

Montross

~~Wm~~ Pisk 1804

John Pisk

Wm Winter

Donatus

Braceford

John Pisk

John Pisk

Robert Pisk

George Grant

Henry Manley of
Aberdeen

Moyle

Wigmore
Donald

Wm. Hamilton

Wigmore

Wigmore

John Campbell

John Brinton

Wigmore

John Pisk

Wigmore

Burman

Wigmore

to the gentlemen of the shire, "who, by their readiness in furnishing corne and straw to the general troop, showed such affection to His Majestie's service, as deserves not only from me but from all above my condition heartie and humble thanks." While this letter indicates a unanimous loyalty on the part of the Commissioners, another from William Colquhoun, to George Maxwell, sheriff-depute, dated 6th December 1684, gives a little insight into the difficulty which then attended the transaction of county business. Declining to attend a meeting called for the 9th December, he thus proceeds:—"I need not tell you how dangerous it is for any private person to intermeddle with public affairs. You may remember that at our last meeting there were several gentlemen of good quality commanded down stairs, and I am not accustomed to be so ill-bred as to desire the same a second time." One useful measure which the Commissioners succeeded in effecting, was the establishment of a regular post between Glasgow and Dumbarton. In 1687, a report was submitted and agreed to, recommending that a person proceed on this business to Glasgow twice a-week—on Tuesdays and Saturdays—and that his fee (fifty pounds Scots yearly), be included in the cess on those parts of the shire concerned.¹

Charles II. dying in 1685, he was succeeded by his brother James, whose Popish predilections made him even more dreaded by the Presbyterian party than any foe they had yet encountered. Among the futile attempts made to dispossess him of the throne was one contrived by Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll, which ended

¹ Twelve years before this an attempt was made by the burgh authorities to establish postal communication with Edinburgh. In 1675, there being great complaints of irregularity in the Post Office, a person was appointed to proceed to Edinburgh with letters each Monday and return on Satur-

day, the postage for a letter and answer thereto being four shillings. In 1679, however, the practice was discontinued as being too extravagant. The annual fee given to the burgh chirurgion was abolished at the same time.

in the ruin of this unfortunate nobleman and several of his followers. As the expedition traversed a great part of Dumbartonshire, and was finally broken up within the county, we trace its progress somewhat minutely. When the Earl escaped from prison in 1681 he betook himself to Holland, which might then be considered the sanctuary of the oppressed. While there, he continued to correspond with several of his friends in Scotland, and after the death of Charles took other active steps to bring to maturity his scheme of descent upon the west coast of Scotland. On communicating it to the exiles by whom he was surrounded, they at first looked coldly on the enterprise, but by the intervention of mutual friends their adhesion was secured, though it cannot be said they ever entered into it with much spirit or determination. The expedition sailed early in May, and reached Orkney in three days. Here occurred the first misfortune. The intention of Argyll being well known over Scotland, two of the leaders were seized when ashore at Kirkwall, and forwarded prisoners to Edinburgh. In Argyll's own county even the fiery cross failed to bring men to his standard; and at Tarbert it was found that his whole force was rather within than above 1800. Addresses were issued at various points on the route, but the government had so thoroughly intimidated the people that no advantage was reaped therefrom. At one time he thought of dislodging Atholl from Inverary, but he allowed himself to be dissuaded from making the attempt, and put into Bute, where some scanty supplies were procured. Forced by the appearance of English frigates to land his armament, Argyll took possession of the Castle of Ellengreg, and fortified it as well as his means would allow. Rumbold, meanwhile, had captured Ardkinlass, on Lochfine, and had it not been for dissensions among the leaders themselves, the Earl's plan of attacking Inverary might have been put into execution with some success. Recruiting was tried at Glenderule and Lochstriven, but little or no addition accrued to the force, and following what appeared to be the

wish of several of his friends, he made for the low country by crossing Lochlong. Having bivouacked on the east shore one night, they were prepared to march next morning, when to the surprise and regret of all concerned, the soldiers left at Ellengreg made their appearance, with the report that they were compelled to evacuate by the approach of the frigates formerly observed. Rumbold also appears to have rejoined the expedition with his party about this time, so that all hope of any rising in Argyllshire was at an end. Hearing at Lochgare that Atholl and Huntly were intending to effect a juncture with the Earl of Dumbarton in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, Argyll, after considerable marching and countermarching, crossed the country to Rosneath, with the avowed purpose of engaging with the royal troops wherever he could find them. From Rosneath he marched his followers round the Gareloch, and then by way of Glenfruin to Leven, which he crossed at Balloch on the night of the 16th of June. Early next morning (says Aikman) the expedition re-commenced its march, weary and hungry, but about seven o'clock discovering a large party of horse in front, a divergence was made to the village of Kilmaronock, where some food was procured. By this circuit a considerable part of the day was consumed. About two o'clock the King's troops appeared in sight, and Argyll at once resolved on risking an engagement. The men themselves showed every disposition to hazard their last stake; but Sir Patrick Hume opposed it, and a council of war being held, it was agreed to pass the enemy in the night and march for Glasgow. For the purpose of diverting the attention of the royalists, large fires were ordered to be kindled, and as there was plenty of peat in the neighbourhood, this was a command easily complied with. The stratagem succeeded. Argyll's men drew off unperceived; but in the confusion caused by the darkness their guides misled them, and difficulties arose which would have caused disorder even among regular and well disciplined troops. In this case the disorder was fatal. Wandering among bogs

and morasses, terrified by indistinct or exaggerated rumours ; the darkness of the night aggravating at once every real distress, and adding terror to every vain alarm, their officers were unable to rally their men, and the men unable to find their officers. Amid this confusion the brave Rumbold got separated from his corps, and while ably defending himself was wounded and taken prisoner. Numbers took the opportunity to abandon a cause which now appeared desperate, and sought to affect their escape individually, which, as a body, they could hardly expect to accomplish. Next morning, when the scattered remains were collected at Kilpatrick, there were not in all above 500 men, and they were worn out, hungry, and dejected. No hope of success and not even a prospect of safety seemed now to remain for the few that were left, unless they made speedy flight to the hills, and in this, as usual, their leaders were divided. The Earl, left to shift for himself, attempted to take shelter in the house of an old retainer, near Kilpatrick, but being refused admittance, he crossed the Clyde, and attempted to escape from his pursuers by assuming the garb of a common yeoman.¹ Crossing the Cart at the ford of Inchinnan, he was set upon by two mounted militiamen. Argyll, who was also on horseback, engaged with his assailants, and desperation giving nerve to his arm, it appeared for a time that he was likely to overpower them ; an additional party of soldiers, however, coming up to the aid of their comrades, the Earl was wounded and secured, the first intimation they had of the station of their prisoner being his own exclamation on falling, "Alas ! unfortunate Argyll."² He was con-

¹ Malcolm Laing states that Argyll's retainers were secured or strictly watched on his approach—a circumstance which may account for his ill fortune at Kilpatrick.

² The place where Argyll was captured

lies within the estate of Blythwood, and a large stone still points out the place where he fell. On visiting the place in 1827, Sir Walter Scott records in his "Diary," that the Highland drovers are still apt to break Blythwood's fences to see the stone.

veyed to Renfrew, and on the 20th of June was taken to Edinburgh, which he entered amid every circumstance of indignity the malice of his enemies could suggest.¹ In pursuance of sentence passed against him in 1681, Argyll was ordered to be executed without delay; and he accordingly suffered within a very few days after being brought to Edinburgh; but with a firmness and dignity which was not only worthy of his name, but more than atoned for any error he might have committed in the course of his troubled career. A similar fate befell Rumbold and Ayloff; Cochrane strange to say, was pardoned; and Sir Patrick Hume escaped to Holland, where he lay till quieter times, when he returned home, and became first Lord Hume of Polwarth and afterwards Earl of Marchmont.

The insurrection of Monmouth, which occurred almost simultaneously with that of Argyll, was also suppressed by James; and had it not been for his over eagerness to establish his favourite faith, he might have continued for many years to undermine the civil liberties of the people. But his trick of practising toleration for the purpose of establishing a religion to which toleration was unknown, was too transparent to deceive the simplest mind; and after an inglorious reign of four years he was driven from the kingdom to become the pensioner of a foreign power. Among the last attempts made by his party in Scotland to keep him on the throne, was the concentration of a force at Stirling, which is thus alluded to by

¹ Aikman's "Hist. Scot.," vol. v. b. xviii. The above narrative of Argyll's expedition, which is substantially the same as that contained in the ordinary histories of Scotland, is fully borne out by an account taken down from the lips of one of the parties concerned in it, and forwarded to the author by the late Joseph Robertson, Esq., Register House, Edinburgh, who found it among the papers

belonging to George Crawford, author of the "Lives of the Officers of State." Crawford's informant was Archibald Campbell, second son of Lord Neill Campbell, who was the second son of the first Marquis of Argyll. He commenced life as an ultra-Presbyterian, and ended it as an ultra-Prelatist, being consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen in 1711.

Chancellor Perth, in a letter dated the last day of October 1688, and addressed "To the Laird of Luss :"—

"SIR,—His Majesty's service requires that some Highlanders should be brought down to Stirling, there to continue in arms and receive such commands as the Council upon this emergency shall think fit. You are therefore hereby required and authorized, with all convenient diligence, to send down to Stirling thirty Highland soldiers, well armed and clothed, of your tenants; and you, or such as you may appoint, are to receive ten men, to be sent thither by the factor of the Laird of Keir, and other ten to be sent to that place by the Laird of Leny, all of which you are to form into a company, of which you are to name the captain, and Leny is to name the lieutenant; and the factor of Keir is to appoint some fit person to be ensign,—which officers are to be paid out of his Majesty's Treasury, at the rate of the officers of the militia. On their arrival at Stirling, the Council will take care to provide them with ammunition and provision for their subsistence during the time they are to be employed in his Majesty's service; and therefore you will take care that they observe good discipline, and do no scaith in the country since his Majesty is to be at all the charge of their maintenance. Your cheerful compliance in this is expected by the Council, in whose name and by whose warrant this is signified to you by, Sir, your assured friend, PERTH, Cancel."

Within five days after this epistle could have reached Rossdhu, the Prince of Orange had landed at Torbay; and within as many weeks Perth himself was a prisoner in that very fortress to which he requested soldiers might be sent for the purpose of supporting the government of King James.

In January 1689, the English Convention assembled and passed a resolution to the effect, that King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people; and having, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and rendered the throne thereby vacant. The Convention soon afterwards passed an Act, settling the Crown upon the Prince and Princess of Orange; and in connection therewith drew up a Declaration of Rights in which all the questions which had of late years been disputed between the King on the one hand and the people on the other were set forth and determined with great exactness.

In February 1689, the Provost of Dumbarton having produced to the Council a declaration signed by his highness the Prince of Orange for "securing the peace of the country, suppressing of the tumult and ryots upon the accompt of religion aither in churches or meeting houses,¹ and other dewties therein contained, the magistrates and counsell all in one voyce do ordain the said declaration to be published at the mercat crosse to-morrow, being the mercat day that

¹ Names of the Episcopal ministers in Dumbartonshire at and after the Revolution of 1689, who were deprived by the state, or deposed by the church, or voluntarily demitted their charges, or were turned out by the people, or continued to preach in their churches by the connivance of the government.

DUMBARTON,.....Mr. Jas. Donaldson deposed by the Presbytery, 1690.

ROW,.....Robert Anderson, demitted his charge into the hands of the Presbytery; but was received by the synod, and again settled at Row.

CARDROSS,.....Mr. Hugh Gordon, deposed "by strangers."

ROSNEATH,.....James Gordon, deprived for not praying for the king, by the Council, Sept. 10, 1689.

LUSS,.....William Anderson, deposed by the Presbytery, 1690, for scandalous conduct.

BONHILL,.....William M'Kerchny, deprived for not praying for the king, by the Council, 10th Oct. 1689.

KILMARONOCK,...John Anderson, younger, voluntarily demitted and received by the Synod, 1691; settled at Drymen.

FINTRY,.....John Sempill, deprived by his own parochiners.

BALDERNOCK,.....Walter Stirling, deprived by his own parochiners, and turned Presbyterian.

KILLEARN,.....James Craig, deposed by the Presbytery for negligence in family worship.

STRATHBLANE,...John Cochran, voluntarily demitted—aged and infirm.

KILPATRICK [Old], Thomas Allan, deprived by the people for scandalous conduct.

KILPATRICK [New], William Duncan, deprived by the people—household plenishing ejected.

BALFRONE,.....James Buchanan, deposed.

BUCHANAN,.....Duncan Carry—a great Jacobite—yet was continued till after 1700; and then deposed.

DRYMEN,.....James Gillespie, deposed for scandalous conduct.

TARBET,.....Archibald M'Laughlan, demitted.

—Dennistoun-Brown MS.

nane may pretend ignorance. The magistrates and counsell appoint Thursday next as the day for proclamation of King William and Queen Mary, to be King and Queen of Scotland, at the publick place for such solemnitie, and ordains intimation thair of to be made to the burgesses and inhabitants to provyd themselves against the said day for putting on of thair bonfyres." The oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary was taken by the magistrates and council on the 23d of September 1689.¹

The confusion which prevailed in public affairs during the

¹ Burgh Records, Sept. 23, 1689. In the Tolbuith of Dunbertane, the twentie-third day of Sep^r j^m jvi^r four scoir nyne yeirs, convened William Craig, proveist; Alexander M'Aulay and Robert Duncansone, baillies; James Williamsone, dean of gild; Johne Arrol, Mathew Lindsay, William Hamiltoun, David M'Len, Johne Mairtein, William Campbell, Johne Colquhoun, Andrew Grahame, James Porterfield, James Lindsay, James Gordone, Hew M'Arthar;

The qth day, In presence of Claud Hamiltoun of Barns, ane of the commissioners of the shyre of Dunbritane to the Parlia^t, and George Maxwell, sheriff deput of the s^d sheriffdom, The s^d magistrates and town counsell of the s^d burgh, in obedience to thair Mat^{ies} proclamation, issued furth for taking the oath of alledgeance to King William and Queen Mary, as king and queen of this realme, betuix and the twenty-fourth day of this month, with certificatione, conforme to the former Acts of Parlia^t made anent swearing the oath of alledgeance, and penalties therein containit, which proclamation is daitit at Edinburgh the second day of Sept^r instant, To witt, compeired William Craig, present proveist; Alexander M'Aulay and Robert Duncanson, baillies; Mathew Lindsay,

lait baillie; William Hamiltoun, Johne Mairtine, David M'Len, William Campbell, Johne Colquhoun, Hew M'Arthar, Andrew Grahame, and James Porterfield.

Compeiring, and did swear and subscribe the following oath of alledgeance, viz:—That we doe seuerlie promiss and swear, That wee will be faithfull and bear true alledgeance to thair Mat^{ies} King William and Queen Mary. So help us God.

William Craig, proveist.

Alexander M'Aulay, bailie.

Robert Duncansone, bailie,

(according to the instrument of government).

Matthew Lindsay, counsellor.

William Campbell, counsellor.

Johne Colquhoun, counsellor.

Andrew Graham, counsellor.

David M'Len, counsellor.

Johne Mairtein, counsellor.

Hugh M'Arthour, counsellor.

Johne M'Alpine, clerk.

William Campbell.

John Arrol.

James Porterfield.

Robert Muschett.

John Ewing.

Johne Weir.

latter end of James's reign, is strongly brought out in the Municipal Records of the burgh of Dumbarton. On the 20th September 1686, Provost Smollett produced a letter from the Lord Chancellor, in name of the King, ordering a suspension of the usual election, which would have taken place at Michaelmas, and authorizing the then Council to continue in office till His Majesty's pleasure was known thereanent.¹ Next year, in December, the King superseded the ordinary election altogether, by nominating such persons as he "judged most loyal and ready to promote his service." In 1688, a letter was produced from Sir William Paterson, authorizing the magistrates appointed the preceding year to continue in office. On the 22d October, they thought fit in respect "of the certain information they had, that there was ane number of broken Highlandmen seen in the muir of the burgh, and fearing the hurt and prejudice of the burgh thairfra, they all in ane voyce think fit that there be ane guard kepted nightly in the burgh for their farder and better security, and appoints the same to be assembled immediatlie efter the diet heroff, and to continue sae lang as the magistrates sall see caus."

The danger from the Highlanders alluded to in the preceding extract from the Burgh Records was dealt with in a more effective way in the summer of 1689, by a force which, concentrating at Dumbarton, spread itself over the disaffected districts in the north of the county. Argyll had the chief command, and under him appears to have been Glencairn, Angus, and Captain Bennett.²

¹ Burgh Records.

² A journal kept by a soldier in Lord Eglinton's troop of horse, gives us some insight into the movements of this force. The little MS. volume was brought into public notice by Gabriel Neil, Esq., Glasgow, who, in December 1858, read a transcript of it before the Archæological Society of that place. The trooper writes thus:—"About

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the 28 day of June, 89, our troupe marched to Dumblen, and from thence to the town of Doune, until we cam to a Laird's hous who was in rebellion: and the nixt day we marched to Dumbartane, wher we joyned Captan Benat's troupe of hors, wt thrie troupes of dragouns, and Glenkern's regiment of fott, and Angus' regiment of fott, and Argyll's regiment of fot, all under Argyll's command:

N N

Even after the Revolution was an accomplished fact, the county was still exposed to danger from the adherents of the expelled King.¹ In April 1693, the Marquis of Tweeddale writes thus to the Commissioners of Supply for Dumbartonshire :—

“The Council, being advertised from the Secretary by command off ane invasione of French and Irish Papists from the kingdom of France upon this kingdome or England, and iff upon Scotland, most probably upon the west part therof, It is thought necessary to putt the countrey in the best posture of defence the suddenness of such a designe will allow, Doe therfor requyre and command the Commissioners of Supply within the shyre of Dumbarton to meet and recommend by name and designatione such persones as are fitted to command the fencible men within that shyre and severall paroches therof; and with all possible expeditione returne ane account of their diligence herein to the Council. And in the meantyme to make intimatione to all the fencible men to be in readiness with their best arms during the appearance

And then marched in throw the Lenox, and yt night cam to the head of the Gear Loch, wher we camped all night; the next night we camped at Arēncaples hous; the nixt day we marched to the head of Loch Fyn, coming down throu M'Nechtan's Land, burning all their houses, here they being in rebellion; And nixt cam to Invera, wher we joyned Captain Yong, wt a detachment of five hundred men that had bein sent into Lorn sheir in the begining of June: And ther we camped a fortnight, waiting for prowisone that was till a com by sea to us from Glasgow; And then we wer to [have] joyned Generall M'Caie, that was lying wt five thousand men at the breas of Atholl, but our prowisone not coming so soon as expected by the reson of contrar winds; Generall M'Caie the higland men ingaged wher Gili-crankie was ffoughen; General M'Caie and his armie returning back to the Lolands againe; we heiring of it, Argyll marched with us back, the first day's march being to M'Nechtan's land, the nixt to Loch Goyel, wher we boted all the fot, sending them over

Loch Long to the Lenox, the hors marching six myells further to a nerouar part of the Loch, the bots being all ordred to meit us ther when the fot was over; and from thence we marched till we cam to Du[m]bartan, wher we camped 2 ds.; and then we marched to Killpatrik, and thence to Glasgow, wher we stayed 4 days.”

¹ The following entry occurs in the Burgh Records of Dumbarton, under date May 6, 1602 :—“The Councill being informed that last week the Earl of Glencairne, the Lairds of Kilmaronock, Luss, Polkellie, young Bishoptoun, Orbistoun, and severall others, had a meeting hard by Dunbartoun, and all their horses with them, which they have sent to some places in the Highlands: And that it is said their design was upon the Castle of Dumbarton, They recommend to the Lord High Chancellor to wreitt to Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, to make inquiry in thie matter, and return to the Councill such particular accompt as he can be able to reatch therein.” &c.—Council Rec.

and threatening of so great danger to come furth upon the first advertisement by particular orders, or Beacons ffor opposing any such invasione, and making all just defence and resistance against such enemies. And for that end the Commissioners are hereby requyred to cause set up Beacons in the most convenient places, and to appoint fit persons to attend upon and fyre the same upon the appearance of any fleet of ships upon that coast or advertisement of any invasione made thereon. The commander of the heretors being already appointed. Signed in name, and at command of the Privy Council.—Your humble servant,

Tweeddale

Again, in the following month, the Chancellor writes :—

“ The Privie Council having had experience upon former occasions of the rediness of the fencible men in your shyre of Dumbarton to appear for defence of church and state, as presently by law established, and having also good ground to apprehend that the designs of enemys from abroad may be to invade and make descent upon the west coast of this kingdome, Doe therfor appoynt you to cause, make intimatione either at the paroch kirks or otherwyes as you shall think meitest, that the saids fencible men in your shyre are allowed to rendezvoze themselves in companies in one paroch, or mare as shall be sufficient, to putt furth the saids companie with the best arms they have, and such captains and other inferior officers as they shall make choyce of, and to appoint dayes and places for mustering within the sds paroches, and then and ther to exercise and traine themselves under their officers forth, To the effect they may be in better posture and readiness to defend against any danger that may happen, Requyring them only to give accompt to you of the Captains, Livetenants, and Ensignes, that they shall make choyce of; and the Councill declares (which you are also to make known to them), that the forth rendezvouzes and musterings are only intended for the end forth without engaging the persones who shall appear therat any further then they shall willingly offer themselves. And the Council requyre you to send in the names that shall be given to you of the officers forth to the clerks of Privie Councill with your best convenience with the accompt of what armes and amunition they have, to the effect they may be supplied in what is wanting. This in name, and at command of the Council, is signified to you by your humble servant,

TWEEDDALE, CANCEL I.P.D.”

Following upon this document in the Supply Records, are a variety of returns from the different parishes in the county relating

to the number and equipment of the fencible men in each. In Kilmaronock, Dundonald mustered fifty men and ten guns, and Glen-eagles twenty-four men and three-score swords; in Luss there were seventy men "with arms conforme;" in Cardross there were one hundred men and thirty stand of arms; in Row, eighty men and fifty-six firelocks. Each parish seems in the first place to have appointed its own officers, but at the general musters they were divided into two companies—those residing above Leven being included in the one, and those below it in the other. At a shire muster held at Kilpatrick, in December 1696, M'Aulay of Ardincaple was chosen captain; Noble of Ferme, lieutenant; and Dugald M'Farlane of Tullihintall, ensign—above Leven: and Bontein of Ardoch, captain; John Colquhoun, lieutenant; and John Hamilton of Balloch, ensign—of the company below Leven. There is no evidence that up to this time these fencibles either collectively or parochially performed active service against the enemies of the Revolution Settlement, but there can be no doubt that their presence exercised a salutary influence on the predatory bands which infested the northern end of the county.

For the appearance of the Castle about this period the reader is referred to the annexed view, copied from what there is every reason for believing is the original sketch made for Slezer's great work "*Theatrum Scotiæ*."¹ In the description of the plate, it is stated that "Betwixt the two top steps are hewn out of the Rock with great pains and labour which yield passage to only one person at a time to the upper part of the Castle. To the south, where Clyde runs by the Rock, which is naturally steep, it hath a little

¹ For the use of this sketch the author is indebted to David Laing, Esq., Signet Library, Edinburgh. It differs slightly from the engraving published in the different editions of Slezer's book. The inscription,

"His Majestie's Castle" would lead to the belief that the sketch was taken towards the close of the reign of Charles II., or during that of his successor James II.





FROM THE NORTH-WEST, 1695

DUMBARTON CASTLE (WEST SIDE, ABOUT 1695

descent, and as it were, with outstretched arms, embraces the plain ground, which, partly by nature and partly by art, is so enclosed that it furnishes room for several houses and a garden. The middle of the Rock, where the entry to the Castle is being built up with houses, makes as it were another Castle distinct from the former." The entrance from the west, which forms so prominent a feature in the picture, was demolished within the memory of people living till quite recent times. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, James, fourth Marquis of Montrose, when the estate of Lennox was disposed by Sir David Hamilton, his Majesty's physician, to him as having right thereto by progress from his Grace Charles, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, obtained, as comprehended therein, the Castle of Dumbarton, with the office of keeper and constable thereof, and the revenues belonging thereto. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1704, confirming to that Marquis the feu-duties of the Isles of Bute and Cumbray, the farm and watch-meal of Kilpatrick, the mains and feu-duties of Cardross, with the Castle green and all other superiorities, feu-duties and rents belonging to the Castle of Dumbarton. A condition was, however, annexed, that he should resign the Rock and the Castle itself, with the heritable keeping and constabulary, the whole houses, towers, and fortifications thereof, including the walls, with the guns thereon, the same to remain for ever annexed to the Crown.¹

¹ "The Lennox," by William Fraser, Esq., vol. i. p. 125.

CHAPTER XII.

1688 TO 1745.

EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION UPON DUMBARTONSHIRE—DISTURBED STATE OF THE NORTH AND NORTH-EASTERN PORTION OF THE COUNTY—ROB ROY—THE UNION—SMOLLETT OF BONHILL—PROCEEDINGS OF THE JACOBITES—MARR'S INSURRECTION—THE LOCH-LOMOND EXPEDITION—PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF SUPPLY FOR THE COUNTY OF DUMBARTON—EXPENSES OF THE BURGH OF DUMBARTON IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXPEDITION—THE REBELLION OF 1745—COUNTY ROADS—RAILWAYS.

IN the lower or southern part of the county of Dumbarton the blessings accruing from the Revolution were not long in being felt. Presbyterianism was substituted for Prelacy as the established religion; the ousted ministers were restored to their charges; the ensnaring oaths and tests of the old government were abolished; trade revived; mercantile speculations were entered into with a freedom which indicated the firmness of public confidence; and to royal burghs like Dumbarton was limited the whole import and export foreign trade of the country. In the north and north-eastern part of the county, unfortunately, there still lingered remnants of those turbulent clans, whose excesses in the early part of the century led to the conflict at Glenfruin with the subsequent prescriptions; and who now saw in the confusion consequent upon a disputed succession to the Crown only a choice opportunity for pilfering from the adherents of one party and betraying the friends of the other. Their excesses not only led to the revival of the old enactments against the Macgregors, but in 1690 the Parliament passed an Act, making the heritors of Dumbartonshire, Stirlingshire, and several other counties mentioned, liable for all the depredations committed within their bounds. In self-defence, therefore, the industriously inclined portion of the community seem to have been willing to purchase such security as could be enjoyed by ignominious

contracts of black-mail. "A person," says Graham of Gartmore, in alluding to the circumstance, "who had the greatest correspondence with the thieves, was agreed with to preserve the lands contracted for from thefts, for certain sums to be paid yearly. Upon this fund he employed one-half of his band to recover stolen cattle, and the other half of them to steal, in order to make black-mail necessary. The estates of those gentlemen who refused to contract, or give countenance to that pernicious practice, were plundered by the thieving part of the gang, in order to induce them to purchase the protection of the other. The leader styled himself the Captain of the Watch, and as his office gave him and his corps a kind of authority to traverse the country, so it gave them an opportunity of doing a vast amount of mischief."¹ That this reprehensible practice was well known to and even sanctioned by very high authority, is evident from a petition presented to the Privy Council on the 12th February 1691, by Houston of that Ilk, Cochrane of Kilmaronock, and Craig of Leddriegreen—all dwelling within the sheriffdom of Dumbarton—complaining that they were so harassed by thieves and broken men, that it was impossible for them to pay taxes, and praying that the Council would allow them to keep in their employ one of the Macgregors, who had consented to keep watch for their security, if paid and entertained by the petitioners. The Council granted the prayer of the petition; but if the parties complaining found the protection of Macgregor insufficient, they were instructed to call in the help of the fencibles. It is not improbable the petitioners were disappointed as to the assistance they expected to obtain from Macgregor; for, if tradition speaks true, in this very year, 1691, a member of that clan—the celebrated Rob Roy—was concerned in an incursion which is yet known as "The Herschip of

¹ Grahame of Gartmore's "Causes of the Disturbance in the Highlands;" Jameson's Edition of "Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 348.

Kippen." It was of a bloodless character in one sense, no lives being lost ; but the booty secured was bulky and valuable.

As the name of this noted freebooter is intimately associated with events which afterwards took place in Dumbartonshire, some notice of his career may not be considered inappropriate. Rob, who is said to have been descended from that Dugald Ciar Mhor, accused of slaying the innocent youths at Glenfruin, commenced life as a Highland farmer. For a time he appears to have been honest and industrious ; and a near and powerful neighbour, James, first Duke of Montrose, bestowed on him many tokens of regard. As Rob prospered he extended his sphere of operations, and entered largely into speculations in the cattle trade. Through some sudden fluctuation in the market, or, as others allege, in consequence of the bad faith of a partner, he was not long in getting into difficulties, and finally absconded with a large sum of money which he had obtained from some of his neighbours for the purpose of purchasing cattle for them at the fairs he frequented. This was in 1712, as is apparent from an advertisement in the "Edinburgh Evening Courant," giving notice of his flight. From this time he became the pest of the Highland borders. In consideration of sums of money advanced at various times, the Duke of Montrose caused Rob's property at Inversnaid to be attached under the usual form of legal procedure ; and in revenge for what he considered the unnecessary rigour exercised by the satellites of the law towards his wife and family on this occasion, Macgregor commenced a predatory warfare against his former patron. As an outlaw he sought and obtained shelter in the territory of Argyll, whose name he had assumed, and between whose house and that of Montrose there existed an inveterate feud. Gratitude for present favours, therefore, combined with a lively sense of his own sufferings, made Rob as severe as he was frequent in his exactions. After his letter to General Wade, it is not easy to allow Macgregor any credit for the sincerity of his political opinions ; but at the time

we speak of, he was pleased to profess himself a Jacobite, when out of Argyll's hearing; and he, therefore, upon principle, embraced in his raids all those lands owned and tenanted by parties friendly to the established government. Thus, under one pretext or another, the daring outlaw contrived to plunder all who refused to buy his protection, while his depredations were sometimes of a character unparalleled for their audacity. The country, too, in which Rob entrenched himself, commanding as it did the richest portion of the counties of Dumbarton and Stirling, was, until opened up by roads, in the highest degree favourable for one engaged in such nefarious practices. As described by Sir Walter Scott, it was broken up into narrow valleys, the habitable part of which bore no proportion to the huge wilderness of forest, rocks, and precipices by which they were encircled, and which was, moreover, full of inextricable passes, morasses, and natural strengths, unknown to any but the inhabitants themselves, and where a few men acquainted with the ground were capable, with ordinary address, of baffling the pursuit of numbers. The opinions and habits of the nearest neighbours to the Highland line were also favourable to Rob Roy's purposes. A large proportion of them were of his own clan of Macgregor, whom the civil wars of the seventeenth century had accustomed to the use of arms, and who were peculiarly brave and fierce from remembrance of their sufferings. The vicinity of a comparatively rich Lowland district gave also great temptation to incursion. Many belonging to other clans, habituated to contempt of industry and to the use of arms, drew towards an unprotected frontier which promised facility of plunder; so that the state of the country, now so peaceable and quiet, verified at that time the opinion which Dr. Johnson heard with doubt and suspicion, that the most disorderly and lawless districts of the Highlands were those which lay nearest to the Lowland line.¹

¹ Introduction to "Rob Roy."

Leaving Rob and his affairs for a short time, let us retrace our steps for the purpose of noticing some of the events which took place in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Foremost in importance for several years was the celebrated Darien Scheme, which, if carried out, would have had no unimportant bearing upon the fortunes of Dumbartonshire. From the correspondence of Principal Dunlop, it appears that he had, in name of the Darien Company, bargained with the surrounding proprietors for liberty to use Keppoch Bay as a harbour for their shipping, and among the Dennistoun MSS. is the copy of a petition concerning the erection of extensive salt works on the adjoining shore, by the Company.¹ The scheme, originally countenanced by the Revolution government as a kind of set-off to the barbarities committed in Glencoe, was latterly opposed by the King and his Parliament, and ultimately ended in the ruin and misery of all who had any concern in it. Next came the Union of the Kingdoms, in accomplishing which the Commissioner for Dumbarton, Sir James Smollett of Bonhill, bore a conspicuous part, though one strangely at variance with the opinions of his constituents. As the representative of a family which had long taken a prominent part in burgh business, James Smollett, by hereditary right no less than by his own shrewd sense and business habits, had a public career opened up to him at a most exciting period of our local history. Having attended the grammar school at Dumbarton for a few years, he was removed to the University of Glasgow, where he passed through the usual curriculum in a creditable manner. About the close of 1665 his father, John Smollett, sent him as an apprentice to Walter Ewing, a

¹ Among others connected with Dumbartonshire who subscribed as "Adventurers" in the Darien Scheme were—John Graham of Dougalston, £2000; Wm. Cochran of Kilmaronock, £1000; Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, £400; and John Macfarlane of Arrochar, £200.

Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, who appears at that time to have been under suspicion for declining the Declaration. Young Smollett remained here several years, but his father's affairs falling into confusion, he removed from Edinburgh to Dumbarton, where he married Jane M'Aulay of Ardincaple, and commenced business as a writer on his own account. He was elected Provost of Dumbarton in 1683, and filled that office till 1686, when the ordinary election was superseded by the King's command. In 1685 he was chosen Commissioner for the burgh to the Parliament which then met, and between that date and 1706—the year of the Union—was elected Commissioner to no less than twelve successive Parliaments or Conventions. Towards the Revolution he seems to have fallen under the surveillance of the Episcopalian party as a favourer of fanatics and a frequenter of conventicles, and to such a length was it carried that he found it necessary to break up his business connection in Dumbarton and remove with his family to Edinburgh. His views on some of the public questions of the time are set forth in a "Memorial of certain passages of the Lord's signal mercies" to him, which he compiled about 1708. Writing of his election to the Convention of 1689, he records, "I had reluctantly to accept the commission because the great end of that Convention being to forefault K. James, I wanted freedom to do it, because though I was convinced he had done many things against law, yet the puir chylde his sone, if he really was such, was innocent, and it were hard to do anything could reach the sone for the father's fault. However I was forced to accept the commission, and when this question about the forefaulting came to be touched, I could not goe in it, so that thereby I was exposed to the wrath of several people. But afterwards, when the Crown was settled, I was weill satisfyed and went into all measures wherein my conscience allowed me for establishing the government both in Church and State." Towards the end of Melville's Parliament he was made a Judge of the Commissary Court of Edinburgh, and in 1698 was

knighted by King William.¹ Eight years afterwards he was nominated one of the Commissioners who were empowered to treat regarding a Union of the Parliament, and though his labours are not specially alluded to by the historians of that transaction, there can be no doubt that his zeal and foresight led him at that time to give no lukewarm support to a measure which, though opposed and reviled by many, was found in after years to be of the greatest benefit to both kingdoms.² The feelings of hostility with which the Union was regarded by Sir James's constituents is apparent from a Council minute of date 4th October 1706, wherein he is instructed as their representative "to declare their dislike of and dissent from the articles of Union, as in their judgment inconsistent with and subversive of the fundamental laws and liberty of the nation, and plainly evacuating all the public oaths this nation lies under," for which reason they desire their Commissioner "to have due regard to the judgment of his constituents, the laws and liberties of the nation, and established government of the Church." A petition was also forwarded from the burgh of Dumbarton to the same effect, but neither instructions nor petitions seem to have altered the opinion of their Commissioner, who, as far as can be ascertained, continued to promote the Union. He seemed still to have had scruples about the "forefaulting" of King James and his son, and declined upon that account to represent

¹ Among the Smollett papers is a discharge by Peter King, Snowdon Herald, granting to have received from Sir James on the 10th of Sept. one hundred merks Scots for his fees of knighthood.

² In one of those scurrilous pasquils of the time, which the Jacobites were not ashamed to circulate, the Commissioner for Dumbarton is alluded to as one of the thirty-one rogues "that put the bryd in her bed," the doggerel being set to the old tune of "Fy, let us all to the Wedding:"—

Fy, let us all to the treaty,
For ther will be wonders ther,
Scotland's to be a bryd,
And married be the Earl of Stair.

Ther's Queensberry, Seafeld, and Marr,
And Morton comes in, by the by,
Ther's Lothian, Leven, and Weems,
And Sutherland, frequently dry.

Ther's Ormiston and Tillicoultry
And Smollett for the town of Dumbarton,
Ther's Arniston and Carnwath
Put in by his uncle Lord Wharton.

—"Scot. Pasquils," 2d Book, Edinburgh 1828.

the burgh in the first British Parliament, but the threatened invasion of 1708 modified his opinions in that respect, and he afterwards went heartily into all the measures thought necessary for maintaining the Revolution Settlement in its entirety.¹ Sir James Smollett died in 1731, having contracted a second marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of William Hamilton of Orbiston. He left a large family of sons and daughters by his first marriage, but had no issue by his second.

As was to be expected, the Jacobites lost no chance of turning to their advantage the dissatisfaction felt in Scotland regarding the Union. On their own estates in the Highlands, the vassals were kept constantly in a state bordering on rebellion; an unchecked system of communication was established with powerful Lowland houses, open application was made to the Court of France for assistance; and in 1708 that Power actually despatched an expedition for the purpose of making a descent upon the Scottish coast. On the 22d March of that year the magistrates of Dumbarton came to the following resolution:—

“The qlk day the two baillies represented to the counsell that at this juncture the whole kingdome was in great hazards, by reasone of ane intendit French invasone, and to that purpose produced and read to the Counsell, ane expresse sent by the Magistrates of the Burgh of Glasgow to them, anent the progresse of the said invasione; and therefore craved the counsell's advice what measures should be found proper in this juncture.

“In the first place, the whole Magistrates, Counsell, with the Deacons of the several corporations, thinks fitt that there be ane constant correspondence keped, upon the towns expenses, betwixt the city of Glasgow and this burgh; and particularly they all in one voice have named John Ewing, wright in this burgh, to be the towns post for that end, during pleasure, who is always to goe to Glasgow one day, and return the other day, and bring what intelligence he can have from Glasgow. And lykas, they recommend to the Magistrates to wryte ane letter to the Magistrates of Glasgow, desyryng them to name a fit persone ther, to send the intelligence to this burgh, with the said John Ewing, and in the said letter to promise in the towns name, satisfacione for his paines.

¹ In the Genealogical Account of Sir James's family in the Dennistoun MS. it is stated that there is extant, in Sir James's handwriting, a petition to King George I., setting forth that as the Union had produced

nothing but evil to Scotland it ought to be annulled and the country restored to its ancient prosperity. See also Account of Smollett Family, vol. ii.

"Item, the magistrates and counsell, considering at such a juncture the toune may be in danger by the coming downe of the Hiellanders, thairfore they think fit and appoints, that henceforth thair be a guard of the Burgesses kept nightly in the said Tolbuith, and also the counsell recommends to the Magistrates to be cairful not only of sufficient officers, but also of the sentinels, As also in respect thair is a great scarcity of armes in this place, thairfore they think fit and ordaines all the touns guns to be fixt upon sight, and that the drume be sent through the toune with a bauk, requayreing all the responsable burgesses who wants armes, to provyd themselves with armes; as also that the said bauk warne the heall inhabitants, betwixt the age of sixty and sixteen year of age, to be in readiness with their armes upoun advertisement, to attend upon and follow what directiones and ordirs the saids Magistrates may appoint them; and in lyk maner appoints the Baillys to wryte ane to Sir James [Smollett, to] desyr him to give directions for supplying the place with armes, and if neid beis to represent to the government the danger of the place, being in the mowth of the Heillands, and to crave from the government supply of armes.

"Item, the said magistrates and counsell statutes and ordains, that noe Burges or inhabitant in tyme coming, harbour anie strangers in thir housses, and particularly inkippars, till they ather give up their names to the magistrates, or otherwayes to the Captain of the toune guards under the paine and penaltie of twelve pounds money forsaid, toties quoties."

Instead of entering the Firth of Forth, the French fleet first sighted land off Montrose, and on attempting to retrace their course were intercepted and dispersed by an English fleet under Sir George Byng. The danger dreaded by the magistrates was thus warded off this time, but for years the nation continued in constant dread of another descent. In 1714 the death of Queen Anne again revived the hopes of the Jacobites, though this was an event more than neutralized by the death of Louis XIV., which took place within a twelvemonth afterwards. Under the direction of the Pretender's Commander-in-Chief, the Earl of Marr, a number of the Highland Clans raised the standard of insurrection at Braemar, in September 1715. The government, fully alive to the necessity of checking the outbreak in its early stages, took immediate and vigorous steps to accomplish their object; but though in the main successful, the country was for a time exposed to serious perils. Availing themselves of the confusion caused by Marr's rebellion, as Marr had availed himself of the dissatisfaction

caused by the Hanoverian succession, Rob Roy and his band made a descent upon Dumbarton, which led to an event still known in the history of the district by the name of the "Lochlomond Expedition."

The following extracts are from a unique account of this expedition¹ written a few days after it was undertaken, and evidently

¹ "The Lochlomond expedition ; with some Short Reflections on the Perth Manifesto. Glasgow, 1715." This tract long continued to be among the scarcest of those illustrative of Mar's rebellion. Sir Walter Scott seems never to have seen one, but from the references made to it by the historian Rae, he pronounces it must have been delectable. A copy was discovered by Mr. James Dennistoun of Dennistoun, among the Wodrow manuscripts in the Advocates' Library ; and he reprinted it in 1834, appending to the original tract a great variety of curious illustrations gleaned from the Wodrow correspondence and other sources. As only a very limited number were then printed, the tract may still be said to be so scarce as to authorize us drawing upon it to the extent we have done. Regarding its authorship, Mr. Dennistoun remarks, "That this narrative might have proceeded from the prolific pen of Mr. John Anderson, minister at Dumbarton, the zealous champion of Presbytery, is a suggestion that naturally offers itself ; but several circumstances, and in particular the silence of Mr. Wodrow's various correspondents, to many of whom Mr. Anderson was well known, render this improvable. Mr. Wodrow, however, approved of, and assisted in circulating the account, as appears from a letter of his correspondent, D. Erskine, thanking him for a line, 'with the Lochlomond Expedition.'"

The following are some of the illustrations

appended to the original account by Mr. Dennistoun :—

Letter dated "Buchanan, Sept. 27, 1715. —I hereby acquaint you, that we have certain information of the clanns being on their march to the northern army. Lochnell with his men, together with the laird of Lochiell att the head of the clann Camerone, are said to be the lenth of Glenorchie on Sabbath last. It's certain they have been ferrying men out of the far Ille's these 10 days past. This day the clann Grigor in this bounds marched off. Any of that name, who made any demure of rising, were threatened with present death if they refused. The laird of Bohaddie, Rob Roy, and Glengyle, review them this day at Corercliett. I hear they threaten many of the Duke of Montrose's men to joyn them, but none of them as yet have stirred, except some of the McGrigors, who have gone off with the rest of their friends. I hear that there was a public intimation att Luss Kirk ordering all Lusse's men to rendezvouse to-morrow, for what end I know not, tho' we fear the worst, in regaird there was an expresse at that place from the camp on Sabbath last, who was ferrying over Loch Lomond [at] Rouerdenan in the morning. Breadalbin men are all on foot ; my Lord Drummond's men are all marched north. Its said here that scarceity of victualls will oblige the northern camp to march south this week ; besides they expect to be so numerous against that time, as not to fear any resist-

by one who was present at the occurrences he describes with so much relish :—

“ Upon hopes being given the M'Gregiours, as 'tis said by the E. of Mar, of having the penal enactments against them taken off,

ance. I have had advertisement from several hands, that a party of Highlandmen design to be in this country some time this week, to take away all the horses they can gett ; but I am hopefull they shall come ill speed, hearing that Buquhan, Lieut. Napier, and some horsemen from Stirling are come to Drumeckell to watch their motions.”

“ Oct. 1. . . . We had alarms here yesterday, that the Highlanders were in great numbers in Dombritton Muir, which proved to be Glengyle, with some say 110, some 180 men, who had taken out of Aberfoyle 19 guns of the Governments only (but took not the old ones the people had), and 3 out of Buchanan ; and it seems, advancing towards Dombrittan, the drums beat, bells rang in Bonill, and they retired to Insherry Isle.”—H. C. [Humphrey Colquhoun of Barnhill.]

“ Dec. 10.—Yesternight about 10 I had express from Dumbarton, to advise that on Wednesday Rob Roy with 80 men came to Drymen, proclaimed the Pretender, and rifled the gauger's house. On Thursday he crossed the Loch, came to the minister of Luss's house, who escaped ; they rifled it : then went to Auchergain, where Humphrey Noble of Kipperminshoch lives, took a horse and mare from him, and carried off his half brother and his wife's brother, as reprints for the 4 in Dumbarton prison ; afterward to the toune of Luss, where they took some lining, arms, &c. They were commanded by Rob Roy and M'Gregor of Marchfield. They threatened Darleith's house, but its

pretty strong, and therefor the tenents run into it. It appears that all the boats were not destroyed at the Loch Lomond expedition.—A. P.”* [Alexander Porterfield Glasgow.]

* The letter, of which the above is an extract, has been published by James Maidment, Esq., Advocate, in the “*Analecta Scotica*,” a curious rechauffe of antiquarian matter. Another account of the same transaction is added from Donald Govan's “*Glasgow Courant* :”—

“ Dec. 10, 1715.—Just now received the following letter, dated Dumbarton, December 9th near 5 at night. Sir,—It will be no news to tell you that the M'Gregiours were in Drymen, 12 miles north of Glasgow, on Wednesday last, proclaimed their king, and rifled the excise officer's room. This is to inform you that yesternight these banditti crossed Lochlomond, came to the town of Luss, broke in upon the minister's house ; but he, being advised by some of his parishioners, got off with his horse, so that they missed both master and horse ; they went off without doing any more harm there. They went to Auchergain, a country town belonging to Luss, where Humphrey Noble of Kipperminshoch lives ; took Leckie, a brother of May's who was there seeing his sister, and John Boyd, Kipperminshoch's half brother ; these two they keep prisoners, and carried off a horse and a mear of Kipperminshoch's. Rob Roy (and) M'Gregiour of Marchfield commands them at Luss. Just now Pluscarden's footman comes express to his master, who is here with our Lieutenant deputs, and tells, the crew have this day in the forenoon taken what arms they could find in and about the town of Luss, some linnens, and other little things made for them. We are advised, if they can, they design for Darleith this night ; and they will make what prisoners they can, by way of reprisal for these taken up in this place.”

From the same authority of March 23, 1716, we learn that, “ Upon Wednesday night last, seven of the M'Greiours, under the command of Alester Dou M'Alister, came to the Aber of Kilmaronock, and extracted two shillings sterl. and a peck of meal, of every cottar in that place ; and would needs have a bond bearing interest from one Margaret Anderson a widow, who was obliged to compound with them for half a crown.”—*Glasgow Courant*.

and their name restored, about the end of September last they broke out into open rebellion under the conduct of Gregor M'Gregiour of Glengyle, nephew to Rob Roy M'Gregiour, and in a considerable body made an excursion upon their neighbours, especially in

"Dec. 13. . . . The clan M'Gregors upon Saturday's night last came to John M'Lachlen of Auchintroig's house, brother in law to young Kepedarroch, hes taken him and his two sons with them, and 20 cows and his horses. I am grieved for them, they are honest people; old Kepedarroch, who lives with them chancest to be at his son's at that tyme. The country does not oppose these banditti, for they are either of their interest or indifferent generally. I hear Culcreuch was expecting them at his house, and was to goe to Stirling to represent and seek remedy for the case. I hear they have 3 Presbyterian ministers prisoners, quhairof Mr. Neill Campbell of Roseneath one; but this anent the ministers prisoners I hear not for certain, though I fear it."

"Dec. 13. . . . 100 mariners came yesterday to Dumbarton, to be joyned by some of the militia, to goe in quest of Rob Roy and his banditti, who, besyde the two I mentioned, in my last, have taken M'Lauchland of Auchentroig and his son, in the parish of Drymen; which is all that I remember of.—A. P."

Account of the Proceedings of the Commissioners of Supply of DUMBARTONSHIRE, during the Rebellion of 1715.

"We, the Justices of the Peace, Deputy-Lieutenants, and Commissioners of Supply of the shire of Dumbarton, under subscribing, considering that the taking and securing the boats upon Lochlomond will be a great

security to the whole shire against the insolence and depredations of the rebels now in arms, and that the same cannot be done without a considerable number of armed men, do hereby desire Alexander M'Aulay, collector of the Supply of Dumbartonshire, to advance Walter Graham of Kilmardeny a sum not exceeding ten pounds sterling, to be disbursed by him, for defraying the expense of the said expedition. Which sum, or so much of it as shall be advanced by the said Walter Graham, on his receipt, we oblige us either to get allowed to the said Alexander M'Aulay, out of the next term's supply, or otherwise to pay the same to him. Reserving relief to us from the rest of the shire who are not subscribing to thir presents, which is subscribed at Dumbarton the 8th day of October 1715 years, by

"JOHN CAMPBELL [of Mamore.]
ARCH. M'AULAY [of Ardencaple.]
ANDW. BUCHANAN [of Drumhead.]
ROBERT CAMPBELL [of Carrick.]
J. SPREUL [of Milton.]
GEO. NAPIER [of Kilmahew.]
RO. BONTEIN [of Ardoch.]
JOHN STIRLING [of Law.]
WILLIAM CAMPBELL [of Succoth.]
JAS. COLQUHOUN [of Camstradden.]
WALT. GRAHAM [of Kilmardeny.]
JAS. HAMILTON [of Barns.]
THOS. CALDER [of Shirva.]
JAS. DUNCANSON [of Garshake.]
(In dorso.)

Buchanan, and about the heads of Monteith, and coming upon them unawares disarmed them.

"Afterwards, upon Michaelmas Day, having made themselves masters of the boats on the water of Enrick, Loch-Lomond, about

"DUMBARTON, 2d May 1717.

"Then was received from William Campbell of Succoth, of the money remitted to him by his Grace the Duke of Argyle, for relieving the shyre of the debts contracted by them in the late rebellion, *compleat* payment of the soume contained in the within obligatione. Therefore, I hereby discharge the haill persons within written liable therefor, and all others whom it effeirs.

(Signed) ALEX. M'AULAY."

"DUMBARTON, 17th October 1615.

"SIR,—Please to pay, on demand, to the honourable Mr. John Campbell of Mamore, or order, the sum of two hundred and forty pounds Scots, for furnishing the Shyre with ammunition and drums, and for defraying necessary expense of expresses, and other incidental charges, for the security of the Shyre. Which sum aforesaid we hereby oblige us either to have allowed to you in the last term's sess payment, out of the said Shyre, or that the same shall be repaid to you, by, Sir, your humble servants.

(Subscribed nearly as before).

"To ALEX. M'AULAY, Collector of Sess for the Shyre of Dumbarton."

[2d May 1717, discharged as before.]

"DUMBARTON, 4th Nov. 1715.

"GENTLEMEN,—Pay to me, Alexander M'Aulay, Collector of Sess for the Shyre of Dumbarton, or my order, upon sight hereof, the soume of fourty pound sterling, advanced by me to you out of the sess of the said

shyre in my hands, for paying up the county money due to the volunteers listed by you, according to his Grace the Duke of Argyle's proclamation published thereanent. Make thankful payment, and oblige, Gentlemen, your most humble servant,

ALEX. M'AULAY.

"To the Commissioners of the Supply and other Heritors of the Shyre of Dumbarton."

"Accepted by us, the under subscribers, conjunctly and severally, day and place foresaid :

"JOHN CAMPBELL [of Mamore.]
ARD. M'AULAY [off Ardencaple.]
R. BONTEIN [off Ardoch.]
HUM. NOBLE [of Kipperminshoch.]
THOS. YUILLE [off Darleith,]
JO. CAMPBELL [of Petoune.]
GEO. NAPIER [Kilmahew.]
JAMES HAMILTON [of Hutchsone.]
AULAY M'AULAY.

WALTER BUCHANAN [of Achantoshan.]

WILL. CAMPBELL [of Succoth.]

[2d May 1717, discharged as before.]

"At Dumbartone, the twelfth day of March 1717 years, convened the Commissioners of Supply of the said Shyre,

"The preses acquainted the gentlemen present that the reason of their being convened at this time was, that it had been represented to the Duke of Argyle the extraordinary expense the shyre had been att, during the late unhappy rebellion, in retak-

Dumbarton 17th Oct^r 1715

For
To pay on Demand to the Honorable Mr John
Campbell of Marnoch or order the sum of two hundred
and forty pounds Scots for furnishing the Shire
ammunition and Drums and for Defraying necessary
expence of express and of Judicial Charges for the
cure of the Shire which sume forfd. No howly
obliged as when he has allowed to you in the last term
left payable to you out of the Shire or that the same
shall be repaid to you By

To Alexander Mearns
Collector of the Shire for the Shire
of Dumbarton

Your most humble servant
John Campbell

And Mr. Aulay

Mr. B. B. B.

Mr. B. B. B.
Mr. B. B. B.
Mr. B. B. B.

Buchanan

James Douglas

James Douglas

William Boyd

seventy men of 'em posses'd themselves of Inchmurrin, a large isle in the said loch ; whence, about midnight, they came ashore in the parish of Bonhill, three miles above Dumbarton. But the country taking the alarm by the ringing of the bells of the several parish

ing the boats on Lochlomonnd taken by the clan Gregor ; by reinforcing the garrison of Dumbarton Castle, and also by raising double militia, and keeping the samen up for sixty days ; all which had brought the Shyre into considerable debts, which many of the heritors grudged to pay, considering the great expenses they otherwise had been att. Whereupon his Grace promised to take the first favourable opportunity of representing to the King the great zeal and forwardness of this Shyre ; and, in the meantime, did remit to William Campbell of Succoth ane certain soume for the use and behoof of the said shyre, that they might be enabled to pay the debts they had contracted without burdening themselves therewith. The commissioners appoint William Noble of Noble Fern, Thomas Whitehill of Keppoch, James Hamilton younger of Barns, and Walter Buchanan of Auchentoshan, as a committee to inspect the accounts, &c."

"Dumbartane, 1st May 1717.—The committee appointed for revising the shyre's accompts, having particularly examined and deliberately considered the whole account of the debts of the shyre, with the instructions of each, do give it as their opinion that the whole of the said debts, extending to the sum of _____ was expended in the time of the late Rebellion for the support of the government and security of the shyre, for buying of drums, colours, ammunition, and bayonets ; of which there is yet resting the sum of fourty-seven pounds ten shillings

and eight pennies, Scots money, not paid up by the shyre, the said money received amounting to two hundred and eighty-five pounds ten shillings and four pennies, Scots money. This, together with the deficiency, was applied in payment of drums, colours, ammunition, bayonets, clerk, and despatches, and that there is still resting, for the subsistence of some subalterns, additional pay to serjeants, whole pay to drummers, the expense of the Lochlomonnd expedition the shyre was put to in retaking the boats from the Macgregors, also coals to the militia in Dumbarton Castle, and coal and candle to the militia guards elsewhere, expenses in sending up deserters and volunteers to the army, for intelligence from the army and the Highlands, the sum of ninety-three pounds eleven shillings and ninepence sterling. And, further, it is the opinion of the Committee that the Commissioners of Supply, at their first general meeting, should recommend to William Campbell of Succoth, to whom his Grace the Duke of Argyle had remitted ane soume of money for paying off the shyre's debts, that they might not be burdened therewith, to pay the said debts according to the above written quotas ; and upon his so doing, that he might give ane sufficient declaration of the shyre's debts being so extinguished, to be ane sufficient instruction to the said William Campbell to satisfy his Grace that he had payed the same.

(Signed) "THOS. EWING.
"WALTER BUCHANAN."

churches about, and being frightened by the discharge of two great guns from the Castle of Dumbarton to warn the country, they thought fit to scamper off in great haste to their boats, and return'd

"THE BURGH OF DUMBARTON'S EXTRA-ORDINARY EXPENCES ON ACCOUNT OF THE REBELLION.

"In the Tolbooth of Dumbertan, the second day of June j^m vij^a and sixtene years ;

"The magistrats and counsell approves of the several accmpts given in by the thesuerer, anent the expenses debursed be him, since the fyfth of June j^m vij^a and fifteen to the deat heirof, relating to the extraordinary charges the toune was put to during the leat rebellione, in paying of the men hyred by the burgh for reinforcing of the castell of Dumbertan, and the partie sent out by the burgh, paying of expresses employed by the burgh for getting intelligence from the severall pairts of the country, and utherwayes as is more particularly mentioned in the minuts sett doune by the committy, appointed for revising the saids accmpts, Which accmpts being accumulat extends to the soume of.....lib. 442 19 6

"The magistrats and counsell lykwayes approve the accmpt dew be the burgh to Misters Calder, and spent by them upon the electione of the magistrats, and uthir gentilmen

present with them on that oca-sione ; and at severall tymes with the deputie lieutenants and gentilmen of the shyre, quhen concerting with them anent the saftie of the toune and countrey ; and for wyne and uther liquors furnished be her to the magistrats, depute lieutenents, and uther gentilmen present with them, at the severall solemnitys for the victories obtained by his Majisties' forces, over the rebells att Sherefmoire and Prestoune. Which accmpt extend to the soume of....lib. 192 10 4

"Item, Mongw Buchanan's accmpt spent in his house, with the half pay officers of Lord Mark Ker's redgiment, and making several gentilmen burgesses, and about uther affairs of the burgh, lib. 101 1 0

"Item, the account given be Mrs. Colquhone, since the 20 of August to the deat heirof, ffor liquors and uther provisiones, furnished to the partie of burgesses from the toune to joyne and assiste those employed for retaking the boats seased by the Magrigors in Lochlomont ; and spent with the officers and men that came from Pasley, to reinforce the toune when they were threaten'd

to the isle ; where not contenting themselves with beef, which they might have had, there being several cows on the isle, they made havock of a great many deer belonging to His Grace the Duke of

by the rybells ; and in making of the officers of the severall [redgiments] that went through the toune to Argyleshire burgesses ; including the allowance given by the Magistrats to the severall guards kept in the toune during the continowance of the leat rebellion. Which accompt extends to the soume of.....lib.	146 19 0	Officers of the Militie and Curnel Edgertonn's redgement keipping guard in the Tolbooth ; and for coall and candell furnished to them in his house,.....lib.	20 9 0
" Item, Mrs. Buchanan's accompt, spent in her house at severall tymes with the Earle of Glencairne, and with the captans of the men of warr, who were made burgesses, having assisted the burgh in retaking the boats from the M'grigors ; and spent with Mr. Graham, Shiref, and uther gentillmen at severall tymes anent the burgh's affairs, and with the officers of Cournell Edgertoun's redgement quartered in the toune,.....lib.	109 19 0	" Item, Bailly Weir's accompt, for powther, leade, and flint stones furnished be him,....lib.	8 8 0
" Item, The accompt given in be Mrs. Lindsay and spent in her house by the Magistrats, Justices of the Peace, Gentillmen of the Shyre employed in the Militia, and spent by the Magistrats on uther occasions,.....lib.	52 9 0	" Item, Ane accompt by Alex. M'Farlane, spent in his house by the Magistrats with the Officers of Edgertoun's regiment, and uther detachments, in demanding bilgats for the detachments, extending to lib.	4 10 0
" Item, The accompt of David Hutchisone, for ane guard rooume in his house for the		" Item, Ane account by Aulay M'Aulay, spent in his house by the quarter master, in drawing bilgats to the fforces, malitie men, and men of war's crew,.....lib.	5 19 0
		" Item, Ane account to Mrs. Buchanan, spent in her house by the magistrats with the officers of the men of warr, with the Pasley men who came to assist the toune in the time of the late rebellion, with the shirriff and gentlemen of the shyre at severall occasions,.....lib.	110 19 0
		" Item, To Andrew Graham, clerk, in consideration of his extraordinary pains and charges he was put to upon the toume's accompt during the rebellion,.....lib.	8 0 0

Montrose, whose property the isle is, and row'd off with them towards the head of the loch, taking along with them all the boats they cou'd find, and drew them upon the land at Inversnaat, about eighteen miles up from the mouth of the loch, and, in a little time after, went off in a body with their fellows towards Mar's Camp. Upon what consideration, it is not commonly known, but so it is, that, in the end of the last week, they returned to their former habitations on Craigroystan, and the parts adjacent, on the north-east side of the above-mention'd Loch-Lomond ; and upon Monday last, being October 10th, they mustered their forces.

“ This their return and rendezvouzing brought the country about under some frightfull apprehensions. The Jacobits were at a great deal of pains to perswade people that there was no harm to be feared from them, that, supposing they shou'd come down upon the Lowlands, yet they wou'd spoil them of nothing but their arms ; that it wou'd be their wisdom peacably to part with these, because if they shou'd make any resistance, and shed the blood of so much as one M'Gregiour, they wou'd set no bounds to their fury, but burn and slay without mercy. But the people considered that this was false reasoning, that the quitting of their arms wou'd be just as wise conduct as when the sheep in the fable, at the desire of the wolves,

“ Item, The Magistrats and Council appoints Gillies Mitchell, thesaurer, to pay to the severall from whom the six bagadge horses were bought that were sent to the army, and to dispose of what of the saide horses are now returned to the best advantadge, Total expense in Scots money,.....lib. 1234 12 10

The ministers of the Presbytery seem also to have been affected by the Rebellion. On the 1st of Nov., having no time to go through their minutes on account of the troubles, they spent the sederunt in prayer. In Feb., 1716, a fast was appointed on account of the great storms interfering with the march of the troops against the rebels, and on the 6th of March following the brethren found they could not remain all night in Dumbarton because a regiment was quartered there.—Pres. Rec.

parted with their dogs ; wherefore they resolved to do their best to defend themselves against those miscreants who neither fear God nor regard man.

“ For this purpose, and in order to bridle these rebels in their excursions, a strong guard of one hundred and twenty volunteers from Paslay, having been sometime before posted at Dumbarton, and about four hundred and twenty volunteers, partly of the Right Honourable the E. of Kilmarnock’s men, partly of the people of Air, Kilwinning, Stevenson, &c., having garrison’d the houses of Drumakill, Cardross, and Gartartan, it was resolved to retake, if possible, the boats from them, by which they kept the country round in a terroure, not knowing where they might make their descent.

“ For effecting this, on Tuesday the 11th of October, about six o’clock at night, there came to the key of Dumbarton, from the men-of-war that were lying in the Firth of Clyde, four pinnaces and three long boats, with four pateraroes, and about one hundred men, well hearted and well armed, under the command of Captain Charleton, Captain Field, and Captain Parker, with four lieutenants and two gunners. About two or three hours after, there came up to them a large boat from New Port-Glasgow, with two large screw guns, under the command of Captain Clark ; all these being joined by three large boats of Dumbarton. Upon the morrow, about nine in the morning, they all put off from the key, and by the strength of horses were drawn the space of three miles up the river Leven, which, next to the Spey, is reckoned the most rapid river in Scotland.

“ When they were got to the mouth of the loch, the Paslaymen, and as many more as the boats could conveniently stow, went on board ; and, at the same time, the Dumbarton-men, the men of Easter and Wester Kilpatrick, of Roseneath, Row, and Cardross, marched up on foot along the north-west side of the loch ; and after them, on horseback, the Honourable Master John Cample of Mamore, uncle to his Grace the Duke of Argyle, attended by a fine

train of the gentlemen of the shire, viz., Archibald M'Aulay of Ardencaple, Auley M'Auley, his eldest son, George Naper of Kilmahew, Walter Graham of Kilmardeny, John Colquhoun of Craigton, John Stirling of Law, James Hamilton of Barnes, with many others, all very richly mounted, and well armed.

"When the pinnaces and boats, being once got in within the mouth of the loch, had spread their sails, and the men on the shore had ranged themselves in order, marching along the side of the loch, scouring the coast, they made altogether so very fine an appearance as had never been seen in that place before, and might have gratified even a curious person. The men on the shore marched with the greatest order and alacrity. The pinnaces on the water discharging their pateraroes, and the men their small arms, made so dreadful a noise through the multiplied and rebounding echoes of the vast mountains of both sides of the loch, that perhaps there was never a more lively resemblance of thunder.

"Against evening they got to Luss, where they came ashore and were met and joined by Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, Baronet, and chief of that name, and James Grant of Pluscarden, his son-in-law, and brother-german to Brigadier Grant—followed by forty or fifty stately fellows, in their short hose and belted plaids, armed each of them with a well fixed gun on his shoulder—a strong handsome target, with a sharp pointed steel of above an ell in length screwed into the navel of it, on his left arm, a sturdy claymore by his side, and a pistol or two, with a dirk and knife, in his belt. Here the whole company rested all night. In the meantime, many reports reached them, contrived, or at least magnified, by the Jacobites, in order to discourage them from the attempt, such as that M'Donald of Glengarry, who was indeed lying with his men about Strathfillan, sixteen miles from the head of the loch, had reinforced the M'Gregiours, so that they at least amounted to fifteen hundred men—whereas there were not fully four hundred on the expedition

against them. That the loch being narrow at Inversnait, where the rebels were lying, they may pepper the boats with their shot from the shore without any danger to themselves, being shaded by the rocks and woods. In a word, that this was a desperate project, and would be a throwing away of all their lives. But all could not dishearten these brave men. They knew that the M'Gregiours and the devil are to be dealt with after the same manner, and that if they be resisted they will flee. Wherefore, on the morrow morning, being Thursday the 13th, they went on in their expedition, and, about noon, came to Inversnait, the place of extreme danger. In order to rouse those thieves out of their dens, Captain Clark loaded one of his great guns, and drove a ball through the roof of a house on the face of a mountain, whereupon an auld wife or two came crawling out and scrambled up the hill; but otherwise there was no appearance of any body of men on the mountains, only a few standing far out of reach on the craggy rocks looking at them.

"Whereupon the Paslay-men, under the command of Captain Finlayson, assisted by Captain Scott, a half-pay officer, and of late a Lieutenant in Colonel Ker's Regiment of dragoons, who is indeed an officer, wise, stout, and honest: the Dumbarton-men, under the command of Bailie David Colquhoun and James Duncanson of Garshake, both magistrates of the burgh, with several of the other companies, to the number of 100 men in all, with the greatest intrepidity leapt on shore, got up to the top of the mountain, and there drew up in order, and stood about an hour, their drums beating all the while; but no enemy appearing, they thereupon went in quest of the boats, which the rebels had seized. And having casually alighted on some ropes, anchors, and oars, which were hid amongst the shrubs, at length they found the boats drawn up a good way on the land, which they hurled down into the loch; such of them as were not damaged they carried off with them, and such as were damaged they either sunk or hewed in pieces. That same night

they returned to Luss, and thence next day (without the loss or hurt of so much as one man) to Dumbarton, from whence they had set out altogether, bringing along with them the whole boats they found on their way, on either side of the loch, and also in the several creeks of the islands, and moored them all under the cannon of Dumbarton Castle ; and thus, in a very short time, and with little expense, were the clan of the M'Gregiours cowed, and a way pointed out how the government may in future easily keep them in awe.

“ There are two or three things may be remarked on this expedition.

“ First, that tho' the M'Gregiours deserved extremities, and our men were in a sufficient capacity to have destroy'd and burnt their whole goods and housing, yet they did not take from them to the value of a shoe latchet, save one fork, which might have been used as a weapon.

“ Secondly, The Providence of God was very observable, in that tho', for three days before, it had blown a prodigious storm, yet, in the morning, when our men were to go on board from Dumbarton, it calm'd, and they got a fair wind in their poop the whole way up the loch. When they had done their business, it kindly veer'd about, and brought them safely and speedily down the loch, immediately after which, on the Friday evening, it began to blow boisterously as before.

“ Thirdly, The cheerfulness of the men who went on this expedition deserves to be notic'd and applauded. They were not forced to it, as the clans are by their masters and chiefs, who hack and butcher such as refuse to go along with them : witness Duncan Macfarland in Rowardennin. But they offered themselves voluntarily to it. No wonder, for men begin now to be convinced that all is at stake.”

From the foregoing extracts it may be seen that the part taken by Dumbartonshire in the Rebellion of 1715, if not very brilliant, was one still beset by numerous perils, and might easily have mis-

carried if consigned to the hands of any but West country Whigs, who were ever foremost in the breach when the Revolution Settlement was endangered.

Our narrative in its onward progress again encounters Rob Roy and his associates. It was not without good reason that Macgregor stood aloof at Sheriffmuir, and, Jacobite though he professed himself to be, declined to aid the Pretender's cause at a moment when his aid might have been of inestimable service.¹ He required his followers for other purposes than war on the borders of Stirlingshire and Dumbartonshire, and there they accordingly appeared with all the audacity that immunity from punishment could give them, soon after Marr's insurrection was extinguished. On the dispersion of the Jacobite army, Rob took up his residence at Craigoystan, on the banks of Lochlomond, and resumed his private warfare with the Duke of Montrose. Determined to rid the country of so troublesome a character, his Grace obtained the assistance of the military, but, in spite of well-concerted schemes, it was found on arriving at Craigoystan that Rob had received notice of their approach, and withdrawn; and the only punishment they had it in their power to inflict upon him was to burn his house. For the loss thus sustained Rob was not slow in making reprisals, and among the very first acts of this description was one which threw all his former feats of audacity into the shade. This was nothing less than taking captive the Sheriff-Substitute of Dumbartonshire, John Graham, Esq. of Killearn (who acted as a factor for the Duke of Montrose), and securing at the same time a large sum of money which had been paid over to this gentleman. The Duke gives the following account of the occurrence in a letter written evidently to some of the law

¹ The fine old ballad on the battle of Sheriffmuir narrates that—

"Rob Roy he stood watch
On a hill for to catch
The booty for aught that I saw, man ;

For he ne'er advanced
From the place where he stanced
Till nae mair was to go there at a' man."

officers of the Crown whom he wished to put on Macgregor's track :—"Mr. Graham of Killearn, having the charge of my Highland estate, went to Monteath, which is part of it, on Monday last, to bring in my rents, it being usual for him to be there two or three nights together at this time of the year, in a country house, for the conveniency of meeting the tenants upon that account. The same night, about nine of the clock, Rob Roy, with a party of those ruffians whom he has still kept about him since the late rebellion, surrounded the house where Mr. Graham was with some of my tenants doing business, ordered his men to present their guns in at the windows of the room where he was sitting, while he himself at the same time with others entered at the door with cocked pistols and made Mr. Graham prisoner, carrying him away to the hills with the money he had got, his books and papers, and my tenants' bonds for the fines, amounting to above a thousand pounds sterling, whereof the one-half had been paid last year, and the other was to have been paid now; and at the same time he had the insolence to cause him to write a letter to me offering me terms of a treaty."¹

After being carried about the country for two or three days,

¹ The letter referred to by his Grace, though signed by Killearn, appears to have been dictated if not written by Rob Roy. It is here given as a curiosity :—

"CHAPELLARQCH, Nov. 19, 1716.

"May it please your Grace,—I am obliged to give your Grace the trouble of this, by Robert Roy's commands, being so unfortunate as at present to be his prisoner. I refer the way and manner I was apprehended to the bearer, and shall only, in short, acquaint your Grace with the demands, which are, that your Grace shall discharge him of all sums he owes your Grace, and give him the sum of 3,400 merks for the loss and damages sustained by him, both at

Craigroystan and at his house at Auchinchisallen; and that your Grace shall give your word not to trouble or prosecute him afterwards; till which time he carries me, all the money I received this day, my books and bonds for entries not yet paid, along with him, with assurances of hard usage, if any party is sent after him. The sums I received this day conform to the nearest computation I can make before several of the gentleman is 322 2s. 8d. pounds Scots, of which I gave them notes. I shall wait your Grace's return, and ever am your Grace's most obedient, faithful, and humble servant.

"Sic Subscribtur, JOHN GRAHAM."

Macgregor conveyed Mr. Graham to an island in Loch Katrine, still known by the name of Rob Roy's Prison; but finding that nothing could be made by retaining him in custody, he was allowed to depart in about a week afterwards, and obtained liberty from the outlaw to carry back with him the account-books, bills, and all else that had been seized—except the cash. In compliance with a suggestion made by the Duke of Montrose, a fort was established at Inversnaid,¹ but even this failed to accomplish the desired end, and though he had many narrow escapes, Macgregor, so far as any lasting punishment was concerned, may be said to have continued to rob with impunity to the end of his days. He lived to a green old age, and died in his own house, in the parish of Balquhiddar, about the year 1740. He left several sons, one of whom, Robert Oig, became in later years a pest almost as great as his father. Notwithstanding his lawless habits this youth appears to have been successful in contracting a marriage with the daughter of Graham of Drunkie, a gentleman of some property. The young lady, however, dying soon after her marriage, the brethren formed a scheme for setting themselves up in the world by carrying off a rich heiress, and uniting her in marriage with the widower, Robert Oig.² The victim they

¹ A tradition exists that some years later than the period spoken of in the text the garrison at Inversnaid was commanded by James Wolfe, afterwards the celebrated General. It is not easy to reconcile such a tradition with the known movements of Wolfe when in Scotland.

² This occurrence gave rise to one of the few ballads with which the Lennox is associated. One version runs thus :—

" Rob Roy is frae the Hiellands come
Down to the Lowland border,
And he has stolen a gay lady,
To haud his house in order.
He set her on a milk-white steed ;
Of none he stood in awe,

Until they reached the Hielland hills,
Aboon the Balmaha.
Saying be content, be content,
Be content wi' me, lady ;
Where will ye fin' in Lennox lan'
Sae brave a man as me, lady.

" Rob Roy he was my father called,
M'Gregor was his name, lady ;
A' the country, far and near,
Have heard M'Gregor's fame, lady.
He was a hedge about his friends,
A heckle to his foes, lady ;
If any man did him gainsay,
He felt his deadly blows, lady.
I am as bold, I am as bold,
I am as bold, and more, lady ;
And any man that doubts my word
May try my good claymore, lady."

selected was one Jean Key or Wright who lived at Edinbelly, in the parish of Balfron. One night in the early part of December 1750, a body of MacGregors armed to the teeth, entered the house at Edinbelly, and having overpowered the male inmates, seized the terrified Jean Key, and carried her to Rowardennan, where a worthy representative of the Clerk of Copmanhurst performed the marriage service. Successful as their foray seemed, the MacGregors soon found they had overreached themselves. The Highlands, both north and west were more under the operation of the law than had been the case in the time of their father. The civil and military power soon got on their track. The supreme civil court issued a warrant sequestrating the property of the heiress ; and to crown, all the lady herself, after undergoing many hardships, was rescued from her captors, brought to Edinburgh, and placed under the protection of the Court of Session. From the savage threats held out to her before being liberated, Jean Key was backward in criminating the MacGregors ; and it even begun to be whispered that she was a consenting party to the abduction from Edinbelly, and also to the marriage at Rowardennan ; but on being fully assured of her safety from pursuit, she made a judicial declaration, in which she fully detailed the story of her wrongs, and imputed to fear her former silence on the subject. Strange to say, however, she still declined to prosecute those who had so deeply injured her, in respect of the oaths they had compelled her to take. From Edinburgh Jean Key was removed to Glasgow, where she died in October 1751. Rob Roy's eldest son James was the first who was seized and tried for the above offence ; but as the jury seemed anxious, under the circumstances, to remove the case from the list of capital offences, the criminal was placed in Edinburgh Castle, to await the result of further investigation. While the lawyers were busy discussing his case, James contrived to make his escape from the fortress and proceeded to France, where, after undergoing many vicissitudes, he died in October 1754. Against Duncan

Macgregor there did not appear to be any evidence, which applied to him individually, so far as the abduction was concerned, and he was dismissed from the bar. Upon his brother, Robert Oig, the vengeance of the law fell with just severity. He was apprehended at Inversnaid on the 26th May 1753, and after a delay of about seven months was brought to trial before the High Court of Justiciary. Found guilty of being art and part in the forcible abduction of Jean Key, he was condemned to death, and executed in February 1764.¹ Though no other member of the clan suffered at this time the extreme penalty, of the law yet it was so broken up that its power for mischief was in a great measure destroyed, and black-mail even on the borders of Dumbartonshire soon became an impost altogether unknown.²

At the great Jacobite rising of 1745, the burgh of Dumbarton, by the discreet conduct of the Town Council, seems to have entirely escaped from the levy Prince Charles attempted to impose on it, while the hearty manner in which they repudiated all connection with his attempt, is seen from the language they use in speaking of his Secretary, "ane James Murray." On the 2d of October, the senior bailie of the town, James Duncanson of Garshake, appears to have received an epistle commanding a representative of the town to repair to Holyrood (where the Prince was then enjoying a brief

¹ This delay in Oig's trial, it is surmised, was caused by certain negotiations on the part of James M'Gregor, who undertook to deliver up to justice a certain Allan Breck Stewart (concerned in the murder of Campbell of Glenure), on condition that his brother's life should be spared.

² Regarding the rate at which black-mail was levied, Sir Walter Scott states that there is still in existence a formal contract, by which Rob Roy's nephew agreed with various landholders in the counties of Perth,

Stirling, and Dumbarton, to recover cattle stolen from them, or to pay the value within six months, in consideration of a payment of £5 on every £100 of valued rent. Petty thefts were not included in the contract; but the theft of one horse, one head of black cattle, or six sheep, fell under the agreement—Introduction to "Rob Roy." The reader will also find in this repertory of Highland traditions the story of Jean Key narrated at considerable length.

tenure of power), for the purpose of fixing the contribution to be paid by Dumbarton for the Pretender's use. Instant steps were at once taken by those in authority for the purpose of defending the town from the danger with which it was threatened. The Dean of Guild and the Clerk were despatched to some of the other burghs in the neighbourhood, to ascertain what steps they intended to take regarding the Prince's commands ; and, on the third day after receipt of the letter, a special meeting of the Town Council was held for the purpose of deciding what course they would take."¹ No mention

¹ "Att Dumbarton, the fifth day of October (Saturday), one thousand seven hundred and forth-five years, convened in Council James Duncanson of Garshake, and Humphrey Colquhoun, bailies, Archd. Cook, Dean of Guild, Robert Duncanson, younger of Garshake, James Howat, James Connal, William and Patrick Wilson, Gillies Mitchell, Robert Mitchell, and the Deacons of Craft. Reported by James Duncanson, that upon We'nesday afternoon was delivered to him a letter signed by one James Murray, who is said to be Secretary to the Pretender's son, addressed to the Provost of Dumbarton, and dated at Holyrood House, the 26th of September last. By this letter the Provost is ordained, upon receipt of it, to repair to the Secretary's office in the Palace of Holyrood, there to have the contribution to be paid by this town for the Pretender's use ascertained, which was to be done according and in proportion to the duties of excise arising out of this burgh, and that for repayment of this contribution the said duty is to be assigned ; and this is ordered to be obeyed under pain of rebellion. Upon this the Dean of Guild and the Clerk were sent off to wait upon the magistrates of the burgh of Renfrew and Rutherglen, who received circular letters to

the same effect, to know what resolution they were to take upon this critical juncture ; they reported that they had conversed with the magistrates of Renfrew, and with Mr. Finlayson, Town Clerk of Glasgow, and sundry other people of distinction in Glasgow, who advised that the three burrows should act together in one concert ; and this day there was produced and read a letter from the Town Clerk of Rutherglen addressed to the Dean of Guild, which came to the Dean of Guild's last night by express at twelve of the clock, advising that the town of Rutherglen had resolved to follow the same measures with their neighbours of Renfrew and Dumbarton, and had appointed two of their number to repair this day to Renfrew in order to concert what is to be done at this critical juncture : All which being considered by the magistrates and council they nominate and appoint James Duncanson of Garshake and the Clerk to repair this day to Renfrew and to deliberate with the magistrates of Renfrew and commissioners of Rutherglen what is proper to be done at this critical juncture, and to report to the Council what they unanimously resolve upon.

(Signed) "HUMPHREY COLQUHOUN.
"ARCH. COOK."

is made in the Council Records regarding the steps taken by the burghs with which Dumbarton allied itself at this crisis; but an entry, under date 16th May 1746, shows how soon the district was relieved from all fear regarding the last attempt of Prince Charles to seat himself on the throne of his ancestors.¹

Among other Jacobites who attempted to escape southward, after the defeat at Culloden had upset their schemes, was William, Marquis of Tullibardine, son of John, first Duke of Athole. Labouring under severe illness, he sought by slow stages to reach the low country, in the hope of getting a vessel to convey him to the Isle of Man, then an Athole possession, and thought to be a safe retreat. On reaching the Lochlomond district he became so thoroughly exhausted, that farther progress was impossible, and he surrendered with servants and guides to Archibald Buchanan of Drumakill, then living with his son at the house of Ross, near the south-east corner of the loch.² The Marquis was conveyed first to Dumbarton Castle, then to Edinburgh, and lastly to the Tower of London, where he died before being brought to trial, 9th July 1746.

¹ "The Magistrates and Council conceive it their duty at this time, in the most humble manner, to address his Majesty on the success of his arms, conducted by his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, who lately obtained a signal victory over the rebels and now is marching on [at] the head of that victorious army to suppress such of the rebels as have taken shelter in the remotest corner of the Highlands; and having asked the assistance of Mr. James Smollett, who is now present with them, in framing an address to go from the community, which was laid before the Council and unanimously agreed to without any amendment; the Clerk is appointed to transcribe a fair copy of the address to be signed by Garshake in name of the Council;

and they recommend him to send off the said address to his Grace the Duke of Argyll, to be presented by him to His Majesty."

² Drumakill was known to be a supporter of the house of Brunswick against the Pretender; but being connected by marriage with the family of Murray of Polmaise, it was thought he might afford at least temporary shelter to an Athole kinsman. Apologising to Lord Milton for being unable to join the army of the Government, Buchanan writes—"Tho' I'm much of a piece with the pyper's doge who lyks ay to be in good company, yet, at the same time, I'm something a kinn to the rotten ewes, who still laggs behind, and cannot follow the flock; was it not for this last cause, I shold

On the suppression of the Rebellion of 1745, the government, wisely considering that it would be of immense service to have a good system of communication established in the Highland counties, set about the formation of roads with the funds realized from the forfeited estates. In this lasting benefit Dumbartonshire participated to a large extent. By the formation of a road from Dumbarton to Stirling, the county was brought into close connection with the more northern shires, in which roads had previously been laid down by General Wade; another was constructed along the west side of Lochlomond, and a third across the western portion of the county to the Firth of Clyde. These roads were constructed and for several years afterwards kept in repair by the soldiers, from which circumstance they acquired the name of military roads; and, indeed, being formed for purely military purposes, they at first may be said to have done little to increase the commercial resources of the district. In after years, however, when the turnpike to Glasgow, and other highways, still further opened up the county, these older roads were found to be of great use.

Under powers contained in certain local acts the Turnpike Roads and Highways in the Western District of the county came to be divided into the following districts managed by as many Trusts:—The 1st or Yoker Trust. This is a continuation of the road from Glasgow to Yoker, and extends from Yoker Bridge, on the confines of Renfrewshire, to the town of Dumbarton. Its length

surely have had the honours of waiting off his Grace and your Lordship at Inverara; and as I'm now an old tyk and cannot keep in with the pack, at least in a long chasse, I have, to supply that want and to keep up the number, sent a young one of my own breed, who can, and who will muster as one of the pack when my bones are thrown o'er the

dyk; and yet while I live (unless by length of time I turn as tavirt as Maggie Low), I shall always be ready to give my mouth for that great and good family to which I was attached when but a whelp."—Fraser's "Lennox," vol. i. p. 131. Quoted from original in Salton Charter Chest.

(including the Kilbowie Road) is about 10 miles 4 furlongs, with 2 tolls and 3 check bars. The 2d or Lawmuir Trust extends from the 3d West Stirlingshire Turnpike Road, near the church of New Kilpatrick, to its junction with the Yoker and Dumbarton Road at the village of Old Kilpatrick. Length 5 miles, with 2 tolls. The 3d or Kilmaronock Trust extends from Drymen Bridge, on the confines of Stirlingshire, to the town of Dumbarton; with branches to Balloch Bridge from Haldane's Mill and Jamestown, and a branch from Barr to Dumbuck, on the road from Yoker to Dumbarton. Length 15 miles, with 3 tolls and 3 checks. The 4th or Helensburgh Trust extends from the end of the west bridge of Dumbarton to the north boundary of the Burgh of Helensburgh at Ardencaple Gate. Length 8 miles with 2 tolls. The 5th or Luss Trust extends from the west end of the bridge of Dumbarton, by Tarbet, to the bridge at Lochlong-head, on the confines of Argyllshire, and from Tarbet to the confines of Perthshire, at or near Inverarnan, with branches to Helensburgh from Red House and Douchlage, and branches to the Leven, at Sandyholm, and at Bonhill and Balloch. Length 40 miles with 8 tolls, one of which, that at Inveruglass, between Tarbet and Glenfalloch, has for a number of years been disused. The 6th or Gareloch and Loch Long Trust extends from the north boundary of the burgh of Helensburgh along Gareloch and Loch Long to its junction with the road from Dumbarton by Tarbet to the bridge at Loch Long-head. Length 17 miles with 3 tolls. The 3d Stirlingshire District Trust has 2 tolls (namely Canniesburn and Aldmarroch) in Dumbartonshire. The total length of Turnpike Roads within the Western District of the County under the Dumbartonshire Act is $95\frac{1}{2}$ miles, with 20 tolls, 1 being disused. Under the Stirlingshire Act, the length is 7 miles with 2 tolls. In all $102\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The Statute Labour Trusts are:—1. East or New Kilpatrick Parish, mileage, 16 miles 7 furlongs. 2. West or Old Kilpatrick Parish,

9 miles 6 furlongs. 3. Dumbarton Parish, Landward, 1 mile 4 furlongs. 4. Cardross Parish and Bonhill West of Leven, 9 miles, 5. Kilmaronock Parish and Bonhill East of Leven, 24 miles. 6. Row, Luss, and Arrochar Parishes, 24 miles. 7. Rosneath Parish, 16 miles. Total, 101 miles 1 furlong. The streets and roads within the Burgh of Dumbarton, comprised in 1864, 1 mile, 4 furlongs, 17 yards. In the two Parishes of Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld, composing the Eastern District of the county, there are about $28\frac{1}{2}$ miles of turnpike road divided into or rather among four separate independent Trusts, all unconnected with, and having no interest in each other, and, in this respect, unlike the roads in the Western District, which may generally be considered as continuations of, or as branches or off-shoots from one main trunk line. Owing to this circumstance it is not practicable to give such a detailed account of the condition, prospects, or financial state of these roads, which generally consist of fragmentary portions of Trusts commencing in one county and terminating in another. For example, the Glasgow Kirkintilloch and Baldernock Trust, commencing in Lanarkshire, at the north of Glasgow, and terminating in Stirlingshire, consisting in all of 18 miles, 7 furlongs, and 40 yards, has 2 miles, 4 furlongs, and 60 yards only in Dumbartonshire. In like manner the Cumbernauld Turnpike, or Glasgow and Redburn Bridge Road Trust, commencing at the east end of George Street in Glasgow, and terminating at Dennyloanhead, in Stirlingshire, is 20 miles in length, of which 10 are in Lanarkshire, 9 in Dumbartonshire, and 1 in Stirlingshire. The North and South Lanarkshire Trust is regulated by two Acts passed in 1820, and 1829 respectively. It extends to 49 miles, whereof 44 are in Lanarkshire, and 5, at its south extremity, in Dumbartonshire. The last Turnpike Road in that district is the Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld Trust. It is 12 miles in length, almost wholly in Dumbartonshire, is regulated by a Special Act passed in 1842,

and has 5 tolls. In Kirkintilloch (Burghal) there are 10 miles 4 furlongs of Statute Labour Roads.¹

In more recent times the most important addition to the means of communication within the county, was furnished by the various railways traversing its surface in all directions, except as yet the extreme north-western district. Even this mountainous portion, encircling the charming lochs for which the district is famous, has been made thoroughly accessible by a fleet of steamers specially fitted to meet the demands of the great tourist traffic which annually sets in during the summer months. The first section of railway laid down in the county west of Glasgow, extended in 1850 from Bowling to Balloch by way of Dumbarton and Vale of Leven. From the wharf at Bowling, the Vale of Leven trade, and such of the Helensburgh trade as passed by way of Dumbarton, was carried up and down the Clyde by Dumbarton steam-boats. In 1858 the district became connected with the general railway system of the country, by the construction of a line extending from Glasgow to Bowling on the one side, and from Dumbarton to Helensburgh on the other. This was, in the first instance, the work of an independent company, largely composed of residents and business people along the route, but the tendency of large systems to absorb smaller ones naturally set in, and the line, first taken over by the Edinburgh and Glasgow Company, became, in turn with the latter, a most profitable section of the still larger North British system. This line enters the county by crossing the Kelvin at Maryhill, where it begins to drop a little southward towards the Clyde, and continues to follow the river line pretty closely till it reaches Dumbarton, where one branch continues the Clyde route to Helensburgh, and another tending northward,

¹ These particulars connected with Dumbartonshire Roads and Trusts occur in an interesting Report on the subject, prepared in 1864 by Alexander Smollett, Esq. of Bonhill, convener of the county, and submitted to a committee appointed to consider the subject of roads and tolls.

proceeds up the Vale to the foot of Lochlomond. Greatly to the benefit of trade and general convenience of the people other portions of the county are traversed by the following lines:—Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld by the old Edinburgh and Glasgow line, opened February 1842; Milngavie and neighbourhood by the Blane Valley branch; and the more northerly district between Balloch and Stirling by the Forth and Clyde line, opened in 1856.

In 1765 the system of communication existing in the district lying south of Lochlomond, and on each side of the Leven, was still further perfected by the formation of a handsome bridge across that river at Dumbarton. So early as 1680, attempts appear to have been made to supersede the ferryboat plying at this point by a substantial bridge.¹ Three years afterwards, as may be seen from the Council Records, Mr. Bontine made a grant of stones for the bridge from his quarry at Kirkton, in consideration of which the Council passed a resolution exempting him, his successors of the same name, and tenants, from any pontage which might be levied.

¹ The following is the bill of expenses incurred by Provost Watson when he applied, in 1680, to the Privy Council for their assistance in this work:

Imprimis.—To consulting with my	
Lord Advocate anent	
the toun's petition to	
his Majesty's Coun-	
sell. Nett charge, lib.	29 0 0
Item,—To the Lord Advocate's	
two men, . . .	5 16 0
„ To William Paterson, one	
of the clerks of Counsell, . . .	5 16 0
„ To Hew Stevenson,	
Clerk-Depute, . . .	2 18 0
„ To George Roe, the	
Clerk, for drawing out	
the petition, . . .	1 9 0
„ To James Smollett, . . .	5 16 0

Item,—Spent in Mrs. Garvie's	
house with James Smol-	
lett and others, . . .	lib. 2 2 0
„ Spent at two several	
times, at the Abbey,	
after soliciting his	
Grace, my Lord Chan-	
cellor, . . .	2 0 0
„ Spent at two several	
times, in Charles Robert-	
son's, after we had soli-	
cited the whole Lords	
of Counsel, . . .	3 6 8
„ To George Roe for draw-	
ing up the bond, . . .	1 9 0
„ Spent on entertainment	
at various times, . . .	8 8 4
	lib. 68 1 0

The plans submitted at this time would appear not to have satisfied the Council, and they were ordered to be laid before that skilful architect Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie, for his opinion. In October 1685, it was reported to the Council that the sum of £1189, 7s. 6d. Scots had been collected to commence the undertaking; but soon after this time the project seems to have fallen into oblivion, and little reference is made to it in the books of Council till the year 1765, when the bridge was actually commenced. About £500 was raised by voluntary subscription in the neighbourhood, but as a much larger sum than this was required, government made the necessary advances and enabled the projectors to complete this important undertaking. It is pleasant to be able to record that it was contracted for and finished by a native of the burgh—Bailie John Brown, mason.¹

As has been remarked, the military roads constructed by Government were at first but of small advantage to the commerce of the locality; but in the middle of the eighteenth century an undertaking was commenced which went far to supply the want thus felt, so far at least as the eastern portion of the county was concerned. This was the formation of the Forth and Clyde Canal, eight miles of

Again, 27 Oct. 1683.—Men set to wark to redd the quarry, and their wages to be paid by Provost Smollett, the collector. The Erle of Dundonald to be waited on at Kirk-michaell for his benevolence for that wark.

26 Oct. 1685.—Provost James Smollatt gives in an accompt of his diligence concerning the Bridge. He had been engaged nego-

tiating with toun councils and ministers, and had visited mony touns in Lothian, east and west, Dalkeith, Dunbar, Dunse, Dumfries, &c., &c. 270^l 2^l 10^d Scotts spent on the bridge.—Burgh Records.

¹ A gravestone in Dumbarton churchyard marks the burying place of "John Brown, mason, late bailie of Dumbarton, who died 17th May, 1773, aged 59. He built the Bridge here by order of Government, and many other buildings for Government throughout Scotland."

which passes through the county proper, and other eight through the detached parishes of Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld. This canal seems to have been projected on an extensive scale so early as the reign of Charles II., but, though frequently brought before the public between that time and the middle of the eighteenth century, no definite steps were taken regarding it till 1768, when it was commenced under the inspection of the well-known Smeaton.¹ The length of the canal from sea to sea is thirty-five miles, and it is so commodious that vessels of nineteen feet beam, sixty-eight feet keel, and drawing about ten feet water, can, with ease, pass along it. The total cost was £345,618, a sum so much beyond the original estimate, that, like the Caledonian Canal in after years, it lay a long time in an unfinished state, and was at length only completed (in 1790) by a loan of £50,000. This loan has long since been repaid, and, notwithstanding the opposition of various lines of railway, the canal has for many years been among the best paying undertakings of the kind in the kingdom.

¹ As lengthy and accurate notices of this great work occur in various works within easy reach of most persons, it is not judged desirable to enlarge upon it in this place. The reader who desires to go minutely into its history, will find some papers worthy of

his attention in "The Scots Magazine" for March 1767, and an abstract of the Act authorizing its construction, with relative documents, in the volume for the following year, 1768.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAREER OF PATRICK COLQUHOUN, LL.D.—HENRY BELL—"THE COMET"—EARLY DAYS OF
STEAM NAVIGATION—DUMBARTON STEAMBOAT COMPANY—COUNTY ELECTIONS—
REFORM BILL AGITATION—ATTACK ON LORD WILLIAM GRAHAM—GREAT COUNTY
CONTEST OF 1780—EXTENSION OF FRANCHISE—RECENT ELECTIONS.

IT is somewhat singular that at the time one resident in Dumbartonshire was working out the idea of a steam-boat, another native was busy compiling his last great work on a subject affected by the invention in a greater degree than any other that can possibly be conceived of. Patrick Colquhoun, LL.D., whose well-known treatise on "The Population, Power, Wealth and Resources of the British Empire," appeared in 1814, was born at Dumbarton, in March 1745. His father, who died at the early age of forty-four, had been a class-fellow of Tobias Smollett in Dumbarton, and it was at the same school young Patrick received the first part of his education. Being left an orphan, he had to push his way in the world. He went to America in early life, and settled in Virginia, where he conducted his affairs so successfully, as to be able to return to Glasgow in a position to carry on the business of a merchant when only twenty-one years of age. Notwithstanding his large business connection, he devoted a considerable portion of time to schemes for the improvement of the general trade of the country. In 1775, Mr Colquhoun married a lady of his own name, the daughter of James Colquhoun, afterwards Provost of Dumbarton, by whom he had a family of seven children. It is principally to his exertions that the

Glasgow Tontine, and also the Chamber of Commerce, owe their origin. The object of this latter institution (still in full activity) was described as intended to promote and improve such branches of trade as are peculiar to this country—to establish local rules for the convenience and assistance of foreign and inland traders and manufacturers—to discuss all memorials and representations from members of the Chamber, in matters regarding trade—to afford them assistance and relief in negotiating public business—to assist in procuring redress in any grievance, hardship, or oppression, affecting any particular branch of trade or manufacture—to consider all matters, respecting the corn laws in this part of the united kingdom, for the purpose of supporting the industrious poor; and in general, to take cognizance of every matter and thing in the least degree connected with the interest of commerce or manufactures.¹ He was elected Lord Provost of Glasgow in 1782. Mr Colquhoun afterwards removed to London, and obtaining an appointment as a police magistrate there in 1792, wrought out a variety of important reforms in the police system of the metropolis. He is the author of several works on this subject, and it is to his persevering efforts that the origin of the Thames Police is to be traced. The University of Glasgow conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in October 1797.² He died

¹ This institution was formally established upon Thursday, Jan. 2d, 1783; when at a very numerous and influential meeting of the members, the following gentlemen were unanimously chosen Directors for the year. Patrick Colquhoun, Chairman; James M'Gregor, Deputy-Chairman; John Glassford, Ja. Dennistoun, sen., Wm. Cunningham, J. Campbell (Clathie), William French, James Somervill, Henry Riddell, Robert Dunmore, John Robertson, William Coats, John Laurie, George Bogle, Robert Cowan, Gilbert Hamilton, Archibald Graham, James

Gammell, Hugh Moody, John Stirling, John Brown, jun., Walter Stirling, James Finlay, William Lang, David Dale, Dougal Ballantine, Alex. M'Alpin, Robert Fulton, John Wilson, and William Carlile.

² Some notion of the active life of this practical philanthropist may be derived from the following list of his works (which does not comprise his ephemeral publications) appended to a biographical sketch written by his son-in-law, Dr. Yates:—

Observations on the present state of the Linen and Cotton Manufactures,..... 1783

in April 1820, leaving by his will the sum of £200, the interest of which was to be divided yearly among poor people of the name of Colquhoun, residing in the parishes of Dumbarton, Cardross, Bonhill, and Old Kilpatrick, not in receipt of parochial relief.

Case relative to the proposed System of Interchange of British Manufactures with Ireland,.....	1785	Manufactures in Great Britain, with Observations on the Means of Extending and Improving this valuable Branch of Trade,.....	1789
Case of the Cotton and Linen Printers of Great Britain,.....	1785	A Representation of the Facts relative to the Sufferings and Losses of the Merchants residing in Great Britain who carried on Trade to the United States of America, previous to the Revolution there,.....	1789
Case of the British Merchants who traded to America previous to the late War,.....	1787	An Important National Question relative to the Principle of Legislation introduced into the present Corn Bill, 1790	
An Important Question relative to the present Competition between the Calico and Muslin Manufacturers of Great Britain, and the same Species of Goods imported from India,.....	1788	Reflections on the Causes which have produced the present distress in Commercial Credit, with Suggestions relative to the means of remedying the evil in future,.....	1793
An important Crisis in the Calico and Muslin Manufactures of Great Britain explained,.....	1788	An Account of the Rise and Progress and Present State of the Charity School, in the Parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch,.....	1793
Observations on the relative Resources of the East India Company for Productive Remittances, and on the National Loss occasioned by the Importation of the same Species of Cotton Goods which can be manufactured in Great Britain,.....	1788	Observations and Facts on Public-Houses, interesting to Magistrates in any part of Great Britain,.....	1794
Observations on the means of Extending the Consumption of British Calicoes, Muslins, and other Cotton Goods, and of affording Pecuniary Aid to the Manufacturers, under Circumstances of the highest Advantage to the Trade,.....	1788	A Plan for affording extensive Relief to the Poor, by raising a moderate Sum of Money by Subscription, to be laid out in redeeming Pledges of honest industrious Families, who have been compelled to Pledge their Goods and Working Tools for Subsistence during the late severe weather,.....	1794
Queries on the present Distressed Situation of the Cotton Manufacturers of Great Britain, and on the Means of Relief,.....	1788	An Account of a Meat and Soup Charity	1795
A Representation of Facts relative to the Rise and Progress of the Cotton		Suggestions favourable to the Comfort of the Labouring People, shewing	

As it would serve no useful purpose to notice the trifling occurrences which took place in Dumbartonshire over the uneventful period extending from about 1750 to 1800, it has been thought proper simply to confine the narrative henceforward to those occurrences which permanently affected the prosperity of the district.

Among the great, if not the very greatest event which ever

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| how a small Income may be made to go far in a Family, so as to produce a considerable saving in the article of Bread. Printed at the public expense,..... | 1795 | Reports of the Proceedings of the Committee at Lloyd's Coffee House, for the Relief of the Poor of the Metropolis, from its origin in 1795, to December 1799, containing Addresses to the Benevolent and Humane in Behalf of the Poor,..... | 1800 |
| Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, explaining the various Crimes and Misdemeanours which at present are felt as a pressure on the community, and suggesting remedies,..... | 1795 | Treatise on the Duties of a Constable, containing Details interesting to the Public, as they relate to the Corruption of Morals and the Protection of the Peaceful Subject against Penal and Criminal Offences,..... | 1803 |
| Friendly Advice to the Labouring Poor, shewing the great advantage in point of Health, Comfort, and National Economy, which may be derived from a new and better mode of Dressing Animal and Vegetable Food, with various Recipes,..... | 1799 | A new and appropriate System of Education for the Labouring People, elucidated and explained according to the Plan which has been established for the religious and moral Improvement of the Male and Female Children admitted into the Free School at Westminster,..... | 1806 |
| Suggestions drawn up at the desire of the Lords of Council, and generally distributed over England and Wales, with a View to the Encouragement of Soup Establishments, and containing Plans and Directions for carrying them into effect,..... | 1799-1800 | Treatise on Indigence, exhibiting a general View of the National Resources for Productive Labour, with Propositions for Meliorating the Condition of the Poor, and for Improving the Moral Habits, and Increasing the Comforts of the Labouring People,..... | 1806 |
| State of Indigence in the Metropolis, with Propositions for a Pauper Police, 1799 | | Treatise on the Population, Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire in every quarter of the World, including the East Indies,.... | 1814 |
| Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames, containing an Historical Account of the Trade of the Port of London, and suggesting means for preventing the Depredations committed thereon, by a Legislative System of River Police,..... | 1800 | | |

affected the fortunes of the county, was the application of steam to purposes of navigation. Whether this idea wholly originated with Henry Bell is not for us to settle; but, beyond all dispute, he has at least the high merit of being the first in Europe who put the principle into anything like practical operation. Born at Torphichen in 1767, Henry Bell, after receiving the rudiments of a very ordinary education, was sent, at the early age of thirteen, to learn the trade of a stone-mason. As this employment was far from being congenial, he was apprenticed to his uncle as a millwright, but afterwards went into the employment of a ship-builder in Borrowstounness, where he was instructed in the modelling of vessels. Proceeding to London in 1789, Bell found employment for a short time in the works of Sir John Rennie; but returned to Glasgow in 1790, and wrought for several years at the joiner's bench. In 1808 he removed to Helensburgh, and while his wife attended to the business of the Baths Hotel, then just completed, of which they had become tenants, he employed himself in bringing to perfection those mechanical projects which had always engaged so much of his attention. After much mental anxiety and pecuniary loss, Bell struck upon the true method of applying steam to purposes of river navigation.¹ At the close of 1811 the ever-to-be-remembered

¹ So early as 1802, experiments had been made by Symington, with a small steamer called the "Charlotte Dundas," on the Forth and Clyde Canal, when two loaded sloops of seventy tons burden each, were brought from Lock No. 20, to Port-Dundas, a distance of nearly twenty miles, in six hours. A local poet, "William Muir, saddler in Kirkintilloch," recalls in a far-off sort of way Frere's wit of the brothers Whistlecraft, "harness and collar-makers of Stowmarket," in detailing his experience at the time:—

"When first I saw her in a tether,
Draw twa sloops after ane anither,
Regardless o' the win' and weather
Athwart her bearing,
I thocht frae hell she had come hither,
A privateering;
And that the pair she had in tow
Were prizes, struck me sair I vow,
I cried when fixed to their prow,
I saw her cable,
In Satan's furnace now they'll low,
Among the rabble."

Read at a meeting of Institution of Engineers in Scotland, Glasgow, 27th Nov. 1867, by J. P. Smith, Esq., Secretary.

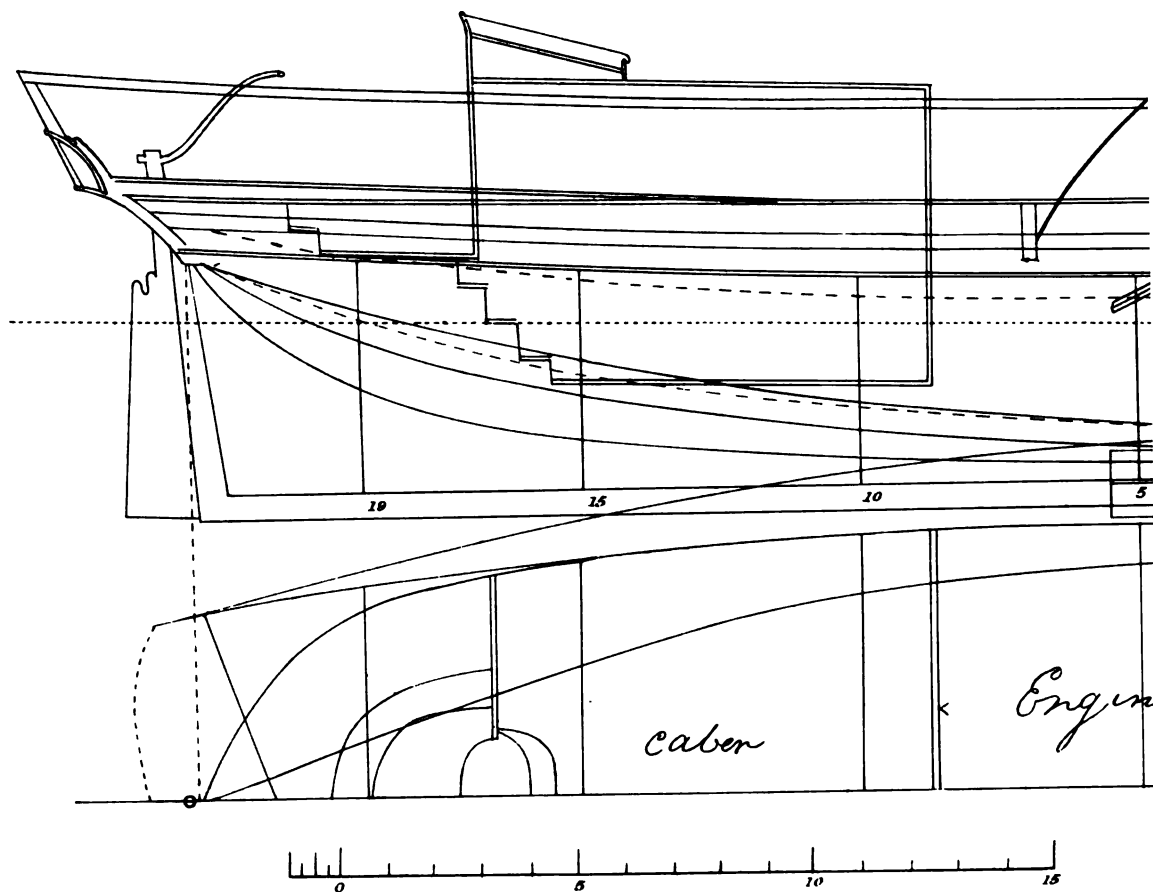
"Comet" was laid down by John Wood & Co. of Port-Glasgow; and during its progress, the enthusiastic projector busied himself in procuring the engine which was to propel her against wind and tide. The little craft was finished and launched in August 1812.¹ We are indebted to John Buchanan, Esq., Glasgow, for notes of a conversation between him and an old man named John Robertson, who made the first engine for the "Comet," which throws a curious light upon the infancy of steam navigation. In 1801, Bell and Robertson having each seen Symington's² boat in one of the reaches of the canal, had frequent conversations about the practicability of propelling vessels by machinery, but, as stated above, it was not till four years later, when Robertson had manufactured a small engine on speculation, that the project was seriously entered into. This engine, which was of three horse power, Bell agreed to purchase for £165, an additional £27 being promised to other parties for the boiler and necessary furnishings. According to Robertson, Bell had an idea at this time that his boat would require four paddles, two on each side, and at first the little craft of forty feet keel and twelve feet beam, was actually finished in that style. Finding by a short experience that the stern paddles not only interfered with the steering, but by acting only on broken water, were next to useless for propelling purposes, they were stripped off, and the vessel fitted up more in consonance with modern ideas. An interesting view annexed, of the "Comet" lines as laid down by Bell, will show more minutely the details of her construction.³ The "Comet" made the first voyage

¹ In various books of reference the "Comet" is said to have been launched in January 1812. This is a mistake. The engine, as is shown by Robertson's books, was not finished till April, and it is well known the boat was launched with her steam up.

² Some of Symington's experiments were carried out in the presence of the Canal

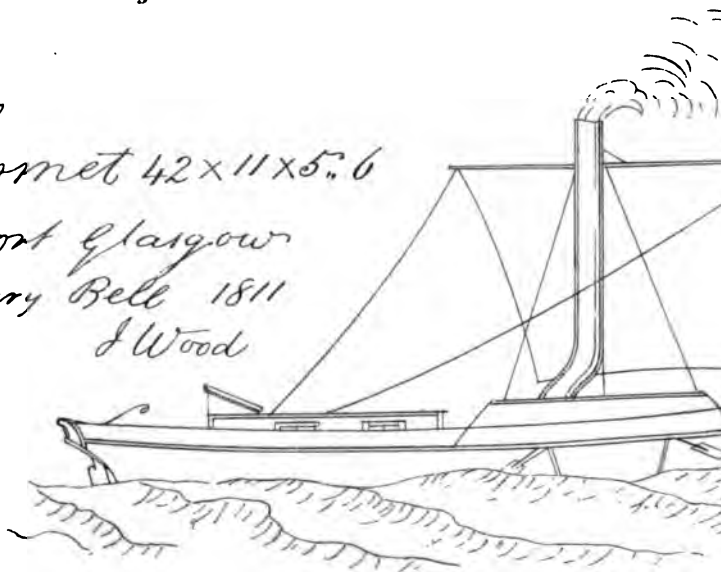
Directors, but he does not appear to have derived much benefit from their countenance.

³ For this suggestive memorial of the infancy of steam navigation, the writer has pleasure in expressing his indebtedness to Robert Napier, Esq., West Shandon, an engineer himself of world wide reputation for over half a century, unwearied also in

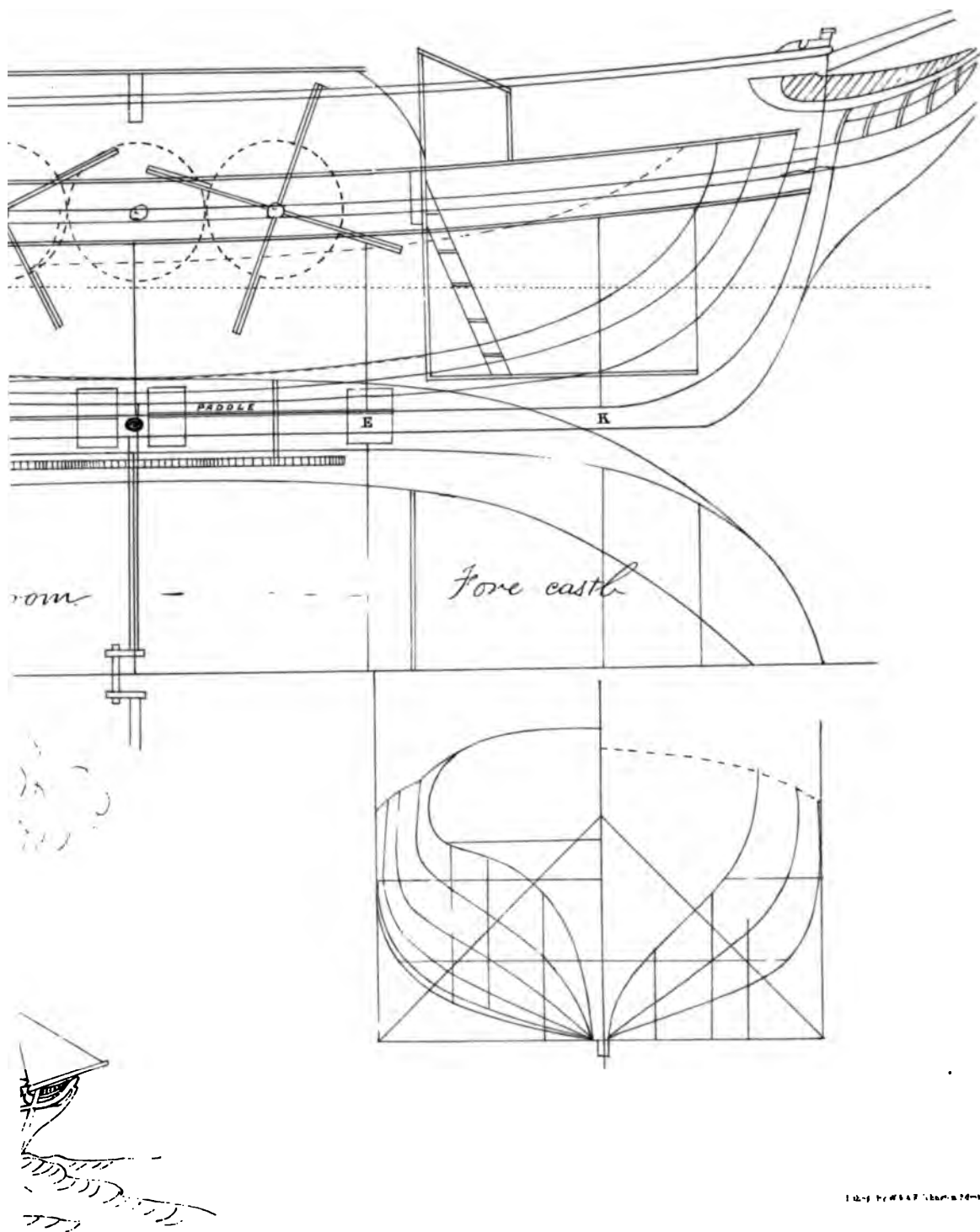


Comet 42 x 11 x 5.6
 Built at Port Glasgow
 for Mr Henry Bell 1811
 J Wood

42 feet long
 11 feet broad
 5 feet 6 inches deep



LINES OF FIRST "COMET" STEAMER



AS DRAWN BY HENRY BELL

from Port-Glasgow to the Broomielaw in three hours and a half, but afterwards, she generally took from four to five hours to accomplish the distance.¹ The crew consisted of a master (the first being William Mackenzie, previously a schoolmaster in Helensburgh), an engineer, a pilot, and a fireman—four persons in all. As the "Comet" paid fairly with her small engine, Bell made a slight addition to its power, and soon afterwards laid her on the beach at Helensburgh, where he added twenty feet to the length, and had also an entirely new engine put in of six horse power.² This little vessel, the construction of which marks an era in the maritime annals

defending the mechanical reputation of his predecessor Bell, and in gathering such trophies, as Time has spared of his labours. Mr. Napier received Bell's drawing of the "Comet" from Mr Wood, builder, in 1831.

¹ Another memorial of the early days of steam navigation, in the form of an advertisement inserted in the newspapers of the period, may not be considered uninteresting.

"STEAM PASSAGE-BOAT, THE COMET, BETWEEN GLASGOW, GREENOCK, AND HELENSBURGH, FOR PASSENGERS ONLY.

The Subscriber having, at much expense, fitted up a handsome vessel to ply upon the River Clyde, between Glasgow and Greenock—to sail by the power of wind, air, and steam—he intends that the vessel shall leave the Broomielaw on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, about mid-day, or at such hour thereafter as may answer from the state of the tide—and to leave Greenock on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, in the morning, to suit the tide. The elegance, comfort, safety, and speed of this vessel require only to be proved to meet the approbation of the public; and the proprietor is determined to do everything in his power to

merit public encouragement. The terms are for the present fixed at 4s. for the best cabin, and 3s. the second; but, beyond these rates, nothing is to be allowed to servants, or any other person employed about the vessel. The subscriber continues his establishment at Helensburgh Baths, the same as for years past, and a vessel will be in readiness to convey passengers in the COMET from Greenock to Helensburgh.—Passengers by the COMET will receive information of the hours of sailing, by applying at Mr. Houston's Office, Broomielaw; or Mr. Thomas Blackney's, East Quay Head, Greenock.

"HENRY BELL.

"Helensburgh, 5th August 1812."

² The original engine was first sold to Archibald M'Lellan and Sons, coachmakers, who applied it to some of their machinery; it afterwards, by the intervention of the maker Robertson, passed into the hands of Mr. Alexander, distiller, Greenock. The engine had several owners after this, till it fell into the possession of Messrs. Girdwood & Co., engineers, Glasgow, who exhibited it as a curiosity at one of the meetings of the British Association in Glasgow. From Messrs. Girdwood, the engine passed into

of Europe, afterwards plied between Glasgow and the West Highlands, by way of the Crinan Canal, but met with an accident on one occasion, when returning from Fort William, and sunk in deep water in 1820, at a place known as Dorus More, Craignish Point. A second Comet built in 1821, when returning from Inverness to Glasgow, 20th October 1825, was sunk off Gourrock, after having been in collision with the Ayr steamer. The fate of Henry Bell did not differ much from that of hundreds of other gifted individuals, whose only reward was a proud consciousness of having benefited their fellow-men. Individuals with more fixity of purpose and possessed of larger capital availed themselves of his invention, and were far from being so ready as they might have been in conceding a word of praise to his long and ill-requited labours. Bell derived but little pecuniary advantage from his discovery; and as he had spent the greater part of his substance in theoretical experiments, would have been almost destitute in old age, had a public subscription not been entered into on his behalf.¹ The Clyde Trustees also came forward

the hands of Messrs. R. Napier & Sons, who made a gift of it to the Commissioners of Patents, for their Museum at South Kensington, where it appears to have found a permanent and honoured resting-place, as set up under the care of the original engineer. Shortly before its last removal, Messrs. R. Napier & Sons had the engine, with Mr. Robertson, photographed, and a copy is herewith presented as a fitting accompaniment to the steamer's lines. The old cylinder at the base of the engine represents the original one, 3 horse power, before being enlarged to 4 horse. It belongs to Andrew M'George, Esq., writer, Glasgow, but is at present on loan to the South Kensington Museum.

¹ Writing to a friend in 1826, he states that in 1800, and again in 1803, he endea-

voured to impress on Lord Melville the practicability of propelling vessels against wind and tide by steam, but the Admiralty had no faith in the scheme, and he was therefore compelled to appeal for countenance to the other governments in Europe and America. He affirms that it was his plan Fulton put into operation on the Hudson River in 1807. This is a point, however, which has given rise to much discussion. So hopeless did Bell's labours at one time seem, that even Watt looked coldly on his projects. "How many" (wrote the great engineer to the designer of the 'Comet'), "how many noblemen, gentlemen and engineers, have puzzled their brains and spent their thousands of pounds, and none of all these, nor yourself, have been able to bring the power of steam in navigation to a successful issue."



The Graph. W. & A. K. Johnson. Eng. 2. 2. 2.

ORIGINAL ENGINE OF "COMET" STEAMER

and bestowed on the inventor to whose genius the river trade was so much indebted, an annuity of £100.¹ He lived to enjoy this for several years at his residence, The Baths, Helensburgh, and at his death the sum was continued to his widow. Henry Bell died in November 1830, and was buried in Row churchyard. A monument to the subject of this notice stands on the rock at Dunglass, on the Clyde; another and more elaborate one has been placed in Row churchyard, by Robert Napier, Esq. of Shandon. Mrs. Bell survived her husband for the long space of twenty-six years, during the whole of which time she discharged the duties of hostess at the Baths Hotel. This venerable and widely-respected lady, whose practical good sense had often been of service to her husband, died on the 1st of May 1856, in the eighty-sixth year of her age, and was also interred in Row churchyard.

Among the first fruits of Henry Bell's invention was the for-

¹ It was thought that Mr Canning, Prime Minister in 1827, when an effort was being made in Bell's favour, would have secured Government support to the scheme. All, however, that the genial orator seemed able to accomplish was a few words in praise of Bell's invention, "What should we think" (he said, speaking at Liverpool in 1824), "of that philosopher who, in writing at this day a treatise upon naval architecture, and the theory of navigation, should omit wholly from his calculation that new and mighty power, new at least in the application of its might, which walks the water like a giant, rejoicing in its course, stemming alike the tempest and the tide—accelerating intercourse—shortening distances—creating—as it were, unexpected neighbourhoods, and new combinations of social and commercial relations, and giving to the fickleness of winds and the faithlessness of waves the certainty and steadiness

of a highway upon land? Such a writer, though he might describe a ship correctly, though he might show from what quarter the winds of heaven blow, would be surely an incurious and idle spectator of the progress of nautical science, who did not see in the power of steam a corrective of all former calculations—he would act as foolishly as the speculator on political science, who descanting on the British constitution of Kings, Lords, and Commons, should omit from his enumeration that mighty power of public opinion embodied in a free-press, which pervades and checks, and perhaps in the last resort, nearly governs the whole; such a man would surely give but an imperfect idea of the government of England, as it is now modified, and would greatly underrate the counter-acting, salutary influence, against which and to correct whose errors, the executive power has to exercise its wisdom."

mation in Dumbarton, in the year 1815, of a joint-stock company, to run a steamer between that place and Glasgow. This was the first company ever formed for such a purpose in Britain; and their vessel, the "Duke of Wellington," was the first steam-boat which made any pretensions to compete with the old established methods for the conveyance of goods and passengers.¹ As compared with modern steam-vessels the "Duke" is apt to be looked upon as a thing utterly insignificant; the deed of a copartnership binding the shareholders to furnish her with one engine "of at least twelve-horse power;"² but limited as was her capabilities, she was for two or three years more than sufficient for the small trade then existing. One trip up and down was performed in the day; the fares being from Dumbarton to Glasgow, or *vice versa*, first cabin 3s., and second cabin 2s. Light goods were charged at 8d., bale goods at 1s. per cwt., and heavy goods at 8s. per ton. She was sold in 1820 to Duncan M'Arthur, engineer, who had contracted to supply the engines for a new and in every way superior boat, built for the Company by William Denny, sen., Dumbarton. In 1824 another and lighter boat, "The Leven," was built for the Dumbarton Company by James Lang, Dumbarton, and furnished with engines by Robert Napier, Camlachie. In 1821 steps had been taken by Mr. David Napier, at his own risk, for placing a steamer on Lochlomond; and in the summer of the following year the waters of the "Queen of

¹ The shares of the Company amounted to twenty in number, and were held by the following individuals, not one of whom is now living:—James Laing, merchant; William Latta, William Rankine, Finlay M'Martin, William Spencer, Peter M'Nicoll, innkeeper; John Glen, tanner; William M'Kinlay, carrier; Peter M'Kinlay, carrier; Walter Lennox, spirit merchant; James Davidson.

tanner; Alexander Laing, grocer; John Laing, merchant; William Lindsay, wright—all of Dumbarton; with John Dixon, Leven-grove; and Jacob Dixon, Rockbank.

² The "Duke of Wellington" was built in Dumbarton by James M'Lachlan, and the engine, which was fitted up in her before launching, was made by Messrs. Napier & M'Arthur, Glasgow.

Scottish Lakes" were first disturbed by the paddles of the little "Marion," named after Mrs. Napier.

At the very time when the county was beginning to reap the advantages accruing from this new branch of trade, a period of political excitement set in which threatened to upset the whole industry of the district.¹ The period referred to commenced with what is known as the Reform Bill agitation—a troubled but not uninteresting epoch in the history of Dumbartonshire.² During the eleven years which elapsed between 1810 and 1821, the county was represented in Parliament by Archibald Colquhoun of Killermont, who was for a time Lord-Advocate, and afterwards Lord Clerk-Registrar. In February 1821, John Buchanan of Ardoch contested the county with Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, and was elected by a majority of nine votes—the numbers being for the former, twenty, for the latter, eleven. In 1826, when a new Parliament was called, John Campbell, younger of Succoth, was elected without opposition. Four years afterwards (1830), the first great contest took place between the Tory, Lord William Graham, and John Campbell Colquhoun of Killermont, for the Whigs. Lord William was supported by the Dennistouns and Buchanans, Sir Archibald Campbell,

¹ The signs of disturbance over the country generally were so ominous, that Government, about 1819, reorganized the local yeomanry and volunteer corps, disbanded after the peace of 1815. The officers of the Dumbartonshire Yeomanry were:—James Dennistoun of Colgrain, major; John Campbell, yr. of Succoth, John Buchanan, yr. of Ardoch, and John Horrocks, Tillichewan, captains; J. M. Dunlop, Advocate, Alex. Smollett of Bonhill, and John Dixon, Dumbarton, lieutenants; and R. Buchanan, surgeon. H. W. Campbell acted as paymaster of the force. The local volunteer force was commanded by Jacob Dixon, sen.

² On one occasion, at Duntocher, the discontent among the Radicals assumed an appearance so serious as to draw out the local volunteer force. A special commission of Oyer and Terminer was held in Dumbarton for the trial of the ringleaders, on 26th July 1826. A verdict of not guilty being returned in the first case, that of Robert Monroe, the Lord Advocate withdrew the others. The judges, consisting of Lord President Hope, Lord Justice-Clerk Boyle, Lord Chief Baron, and Lord Pitmilley, met in the parish church, which was fitted up as a court of justice for the occasion.

Hamilton of Barnes, Gartshore of Gartshore. On the Laird of Killermont's side, there were ranged, Lord John Campbell, Campbell of Stonefield, Sir James Colquhoun, Admiral Fleming, Smollett of Bonhill, Bontine of Ardoch, and several others of less note. On the poll being taken, it was found that the votes were equal, thirty electors having given their suffrages to each candidate. The election therefore virtually lay with the President, who possessed a casting vote. This office, on the occasion in question, was filled by Sir Archibald Campbell, who gave his casting vote in favour of Lord William Graham. Sir Archibald himself had only been elected President by having a casting vote in virtue of being the last individual who had acted as Chairman. Through a variety of causes which it would be foreign to our purpose to trace, a new Parliament was summoned in 1831, and on this occasion all parties seem to have been alike unscrupulous as to the means they took to secure the return of their favourite candidate.

In Dumbartonshire the excitement reached the highest possible pitch. The candidates were the same as on the former election, and their several supporters were, if possible, still more determined and united than they had been on that occasion. The mob being as regardless of law as they were clamorous for reform, it was deemed necessary, in the absence of anything like a proper local force, to have a party of dragoons stationed at Bowling on the day of election. Their services were fortunately not required, though at one time they were signalled for, and had actually reached the outskirts of the town. While returning from the court house, walking between the late Sir James Colquhoun and Mr. Campbell, sheriff-substitute, Lord William Graham was attacked by the rabble, and obliged to take refuge in a private dwelling-house, where he remained guarded by Sir James, Mr. Campbell, and others, till a party was organised for his rescue. Having been conducted through the mob—a work of both difficulty and danger—he entered a small boat, and was conveyed

to a party of his friends on board a steamer lying in the Clyde.¹ Mr Buchanan, Auchentorlie, was also among those subjected to rough usage on the part of the mob. On the day of election it was found that twenty-eight freeholders voted for Graham, and twenty-three for Killermont. The former was therefore declared to be elected, and he took his seat for Dumbartonshire in the last Parliament which met under the old system. The Bill which had caused so much excitement became law in 1832, and a new Parliament was immediately summoned in accordance with its provisions. In this Parliament the representative for Dumbartonshire was J. C. Colquhoun, the opponent of Lord William Graham.

The extent of the change caused by the Reform Act in the representation of the county is a subject which should not be overlooked. Previous to 1832, the privilege of voting in counties was restricted to persons infest in a 40s. land of old extent, holden of the Crown, or in lands so holden valued in the cess rolls of the county (which had been made up so far back as the time of Cromwell) at 400 pounds Scots. The voters might be either life-renters or fiars, and it was sufficient that they held the bare superiority of the lands, without having actual possession of the "dominium utile," or property thereof. In 1830, and no doubt with a view to the contemplated extension of the franchise, orders were issued by the House of Lords for returns showing what the effect would be of lowering the franchise in the Scotch counties to 100 pounds Scots, the qualification of a Commissioner of Supply, and also what the result would be of reducing it by successive gradations to a sum so low as ten pounds

¹ It was currently reported at the time that Lord William had been murdered by the mob in Dumbarton. The rumour seems to have reached Sir Walter Scott in this form. "I can never forget (says Lockhart) the high glow which suffused Sir Walter's countenance when he heard the overburdened

story. The trace of his calamitous affliction almost disappeared for the moment, and in a calm and rather clear voice he remarked, 'Well, Lord William died at his post—Non aliter cineres mando jacere, meos.'—Lockhart's Life of Scott, cap. lxxx.

Scots—the franchise in all these cases being supposed to be withdrawn from those who were only superiors, and conferred on actual proprietors. The return referred to showed that in the county of Dumbarton the franchise was held by only seventy-one individuals; that of these not more than nineteen held actual possession of the lands for which they were enrolled; and, further, the return showed that the life-renters exceeded the fiars in number. As the order did not call for a return of the number of individuals who held lands valued at 400 pounds Scots and upwards, the document presented to the House of Lords made no reference to such parties; but from a private statement drawn up by the returning officer at the same time, it appeared that, after deducting four peers, who were presumed to have no voice in elections, the possessors of property of this value amounted to sixteen. These, when added to the return, made the total number 202. Of these no fewer than 113 were proprietors in the parishes of Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld; so that had a scheme based on such data been adopted by Parliament, it is evident these two parishes would, as often as they chose to combine, have carried the election against the whole of the ten western parishes. Fortunately the returns from Dumbartonshire and other counties seem to have satisfied the Government that any franchise proceeding upon the old valuation could not be satisfactory; and the Reform Act of 1832, accordingly conferred the franchise in counties on the owners of any heritable subject of the free yearly value of £10, as well as on tenants of several classes. By this means the constituency was increased to 924.

To show the views current in Dumbartonshire previous to the passing of the Reform Bill, it may be stated that two of the freeholders, who were advocates for reform, published their views on the subject of the representation. One of them thought that the qualification in counties should not be higher than £40 nor lower than £20, of free yearly rent; and that in burghs the franchise should

be possessed by all tenants who occupied dwelling-houses rented at £10 and upwards. The other considered that if the qualification in counties was so low as £20, the landed interest would be outvoted by the house proprietors, and he, therefore, submitted that £40 would be a fair sum. Neither of these gentlemen seem to have contemplated the £50 tenancy votes in counties.

While on these election matters it may not be considered out of place to refer to the great contest for the county in 1780, illustrating, as it does, the most flagrant evils sought to be removed by the Reform Act of 1832. The candidates on this occasion were Lord Frederick Campbell, supported principally by the houses of Argyll and Colquhoun, and Captain George Keith Elphinstone, supported by the Montrose and Smollett families. The contest promised to be a keen one. Lord Frederick was certain to poll a majority of the older freeholders ; but a number of new claimants had been created, for the occasion, and they to a man were expected to vote for Elphinstone. Before being entitled to vote, however, it was necessary the latter should have been in possession at least clear twelve-months before the day of election. The Sheriff for the time being, Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, who acted as returning officer, was a supporter of the Argyll interest, and fixed the day of election twenty-four hours before the time the new freeholders were legally qualified to vote. Another objection which applied to no less than thirteen of the Elphinstone party was that the Lennox retour was not sufficient evidence as to the value of the lands on which they sought to be enrolled. Elphinstone's supporters, determined not to be outvoted by the ingenious device of the Sheriff, adopted a counter stratagem, strikingly suggestive of the familiarity of our ancestors with all the modern tricks of electioneering. Two or three able speakers—among whom was the celebrated Henry Erskine—were brought from Edinburgh, and on the day of election they contrived, by certain devices familiar only to lawyers, to protract the proceed-

ings till midnight. Immediately on the clock striking twelve, the eloquent and learned gentlemen altered their tactics, and urged that the votes of the new freeholders should be received without further delay, as the twelvemonths' possession required by the statute had then expired. The agents of Lord Frederick's party were too adroit to be thus checkmated. With a great show of impartiality they urged that as the election had commenced the preceding day, it must, in point of law, be considered to terminate on that day also. The wordy contest was carried on till about five o'clock on the morning of the day following that on which the meeting commenced. When the votes were taken, the Preses, Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, declared that his friend Lord Frederick was the successful candidate, having polled nine votes more than his antagonist.¹ The matter did not end here. Each new freeholder had protested against the rejection of his vote, and the Elphinstone party presented a petition to the House of Commons against the return. Numerous cases were also raised in the Court of Session; but none of them progressed beyond their initiatory stage, as Lord Frederick retired from the contest. He is reported to have intimated this resolution to his opponent by using the nautical phrase, that he had determined to "strike to the 'Warwick'"—this being the name

¹ The votes stood thus :—For Lord Frederick Campbell—John Noble, Sir James Colquhoun, Ilay Campbell, Sir Archibald Edmonstone, John Campbell of Stonefield; Archibald Buchanan of Drumhead, William Donald, Archibald Campbell, George Yuill, Donald Campbell of Peiton; James Colquhoun, John Hamilton, Charles Edmonstone, Duncan Macmillan, John Campbell of Kipperminshoch; William Rouet, James Stewart, George Keith Elphinstone, Robert Skene, George Murdoch, James Ferrier, William Baillie, advocate; Captain William

Colquhoun, William Craig, Colin Campbell, bailie of Rosneath; Donald Campbell of Barbreck; and John Campbell junior; twenty-seven in all.—For Captain George Keith Elphinstone :—George Haldane, Lord Frederick Campbell, David Smythe, Colin Douglas, Robert Bontein, James Buchanan, James Fogo, John Haldane, William Elphinstone, Patrick Downie, Charles Thomson, William Baillie, surgeon; David Ballingall, William Adam, Henry Erskine, Robert Hamilton, Robert Dundas, James Baillie, and Ambrose Tibbets; nineteen, all freeholders.

of Captain Elphinstone's ship. The gallant officer accordingly took his seat as member for Dumbartonshire. Thus terminated the great election contest of 1780. Captain Elphinstone became afterwards Lord Keith, and Chamberlain of Scotland, and continued to represent the county till 1790, when he was succeeded by Sir Archibald Edmonstone.¹

Since the passing of the Reform Bill the representation of the county has with few exceptions been held by members of the Tory or Conservative party. J. C. Colquhoun, Esq. of Killermont, formerly referred to, sat as a Liberal from 1832, to the dissolution of 1834, when, after a contest with Alexander Smollett, Esq. of Bonhill, he was succeeded by another Liberal, Alexander Dennistoun, Esq. of Golfhill. In the new Parliament called at the Queen's accession in 1837, the seat was won by Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, after another contest with Alexander Smollett, Esq. of Bonhill, the number being for the former 453, for the latter 411—majority 42. The entire constituency at this time numbered 1166. In 1841, when the constituency stood at 1220, and a new Parliament fell to be summoned on the downfall of the Melbourne ministry, Mr Alexander Smollett was returned without opposition. In 1847, under Lord John Russell's first administration, Mr Smollett was opposed by Thomas C. Robertson, Esq. of the Hon. East India Company's Service, when 536 votes were given to the former, and 294 to the latter. Mr. Smollett was re-elected without opposition in 1852, and again in 1857, and occupied the seat till 1859, when he was succeeded by his brother Patrick Boyle Smollett, Esq., of the Hon. East India Company's Service. The seat on this occasion was contested by William Cunningham-Bontine, Esq. of Ardoch (now Bontine-Graham of Gartmore); the numbers at the close of the

¹ Keith Elphinstone was among those who met at the St. Alban Tavern, London, to effect a reconciliation between Fox and Pitt and the Duke of Portland, with the view of forming what was called "a broad bottomed administration."

poll standing—Smollett, 490; Bontine, 399—majority for P. B. Smollett, 91. At the next general election, 1865, Mr. P. B. Smollett was opposed on the Liberal side by James Stirling, Esq., Cordale, when the somewhat rare result was presented of a double return,—574 votes being tendered for each. The constituency at this time numbered 1597, made up as follows:—Proprietors 1145, life-renters 18, tenants 418, freeholders 16. In accordance with the practice usual on such occasions, a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to scrutinize the voting-roll; but at an early stage of the proceedings, a vote tendered in favour of Mr. Stirling was withdrawn, and Mr. Smollett retained the seat till the dissolution of 1868. At the general election in November of that year, Archibald Orr-Ewing, Esq. of Ballikinrain was returned unopposed, although not before a keen canvas had been made to win over the seat to the Liberal party in the person of George Campbell, Esq. of Edenwood, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and M.P. for Kirkcaldy burghs. The last contest took place at the following general election in 1874, on the downfall of the Gladstone ministry, when the Liberal battle was fought by John William Burns, Esq. of Kilmahew. The result of this poll, taken for the first time under the Ballot Act, gave 995 to Mr. Orr-Ewing, and 942 to Mr. Burns; majority for Mr. Orr-Ewing 53. At this date the constituency had been increased, through the operation of Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill, from 1567 to 2156. In 1875 the total number of voters was set down at 2413.¹

¹ Briefly stated the contests for the county since 1831, read as follows:—

1831. Last election under the old system

Lord William Graham, . . .	28
J. C. Colquhoun, . . .	23

Majority for Lord W. Graham,	5
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1832. J. C. Colquhoun, . . . 422

Major Sir J. Colquhoun, 3d Bart.,	375
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Majority for Mr Colquhoun,	47
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1835. Alexander Dennistoun, . . .	436
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Alexander Smollett, . . .	399
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Majority for A. Dennistoun, . . .	37
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1837. Sir J. Colquhoun, 4th Bart., . . .	453
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Alexander Smollett, . . .	411
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Majority for Sir J. Colquhoun,	42
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1841. Alexander Smollett (no opposition).	
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The martial spirit excited by the wars of the French Revolution was as strong in Dumbartonshire as in any other district in the kingdom. The militia volunteers raised in the county were numerous and enthusiastic, and were long celebrated for the readiness with which they perfected their probationary period, by joining the regiments of the line. The Dumbarton Fencibles were embodied in October 1794, and inspected and reported complete by Major-General Sir James Stuart in the summer of the following year. The regiment was raised principally through the exertions of Campbell of Stonefield; and the Commander-in-Chief, as some acknowledgment for his valuable services, appointed him to be colonel of the troop. The first Lieutenant-Colonel was M'Lean of Lochbuy: but on his removal in 1797, to the Argyllshire Fencibles, he was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott. After being duly inspected and reported, the Dumbarton Fencibles were removed to Guernsey, where they lay two years, and were then sent to Ireland, where they continued till the close of the Rebellion. Their bravery and general good-conduct was particularly noticed by Sir John Moore. While acting as Brigadier-General in Ireland, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, Sir John formed the Dumbarton Fencibles into a light infantry corps, and stationed them in a most important locality in his own neighbourhood. When the defeat at Wexford had somewhat cooled the ardour of the insurgents, the same gallant commander further exhibited his confidence in the Dumbartonshire Fencibles, by selecting them as a guard over 400 prisoners, who were to be despatched to

1847. Alexander Smollett, . . .	536	1865, P. B. Smollett, . . .	574
T. C. Robertson, . . .	294	James Stirling, . . .	574
Majority for Alexander Smollett,	242	One vote withdrawn in committee, in favour of Mr. Smollett.	
1859. P. B. Smollett, . . .	490	1868. A. Orr-Ewing (no opposition).	
W. C. Bontine, . . .	399	1874. A. Orr-Ewing, . . .	995
Majority for Mr. Smollett, .	91	J. W. Burns, . . .	942
		Majority for Mr. Ewing, .	53

Prussia,—a service which he said required “confidential and trustworthy men.” This regiment returned to Scotland in 1802, and was reduced the same year.¹

Reference has already been made² to the reorganization in 1819 of the local yeomanry and volunteer corps disbanded after the peace of 1815. The officers of the Dumbartonshire Yeomanry were:—James Dennistoun of Colgrain, major; John Campbell, younger of Succoth, John Buchanan, younger of Ardoch, and John Horrocks, Tillichewan, captains; J. M. Dunlop, advocate, Alexander Smollett of Bonhill, and John Dixon, Dumbarton, lieutenants; and R. Buchanan, surgeon. H. W. Campbell acted as pay-master of the force. The local volunteer force was commanded by Jacob Dixon, senior.

In conformity with such loyal traditions, when the War Office in 1859 sanctioned the formation of volunteer rifle corps, and also of artillery corps where there were forts or batteries, Dumbartonshire entered with enthusiasm into such duties as were laid on these citizen soldiers. Some of the companies were amongst the earliest organized under the new regulations, and they have long been considered models of efficiency in skill and conduct, no less than in ardour and drill. The roll for 1875 showed the total strength of the Battalion to be 12 corps numbering 1118, an increase of 123 on the preceding year.³ The grant for 1875 amounted to £1900. Colonel Findlay has commanded the battalion since it was organized. Three efficient and popular volunteer artillery companies, making up part of the Renfrewshire battalion, also carry on drill at Dumbarton, Helensburgh, and Rosneath.

¹ Brown's "History of the Highland Clans," vol. iv. p. 375.

² See note, ante, p. 331.

³ Numbers made up thus:—1st Helensburgh 61; 2nd Maryhill, 100; 3rd Bonhill, 90; 4th Jameston, 93; 5th Alexandria, 95;

6th Dumbarton, 126; 7th Cardross, 63; 8th dissolved; 9th Luss and Arrochar, 66; 10th Kirkintilloch, 147; 11th Cumbernauld, 99; 12th dissolved; 13th Milngavie, 67; 14th Dalmuir, 90.

COUNTY STATISTICS.

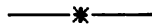
POPULATION OF DUMBARTONSHIRE PARISHES FROM 1801 TO 1871.

	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1841.	1851.	1861.	1871.
Arrochar,	470	376	376	559	580	562	629	525
Bonhill,	2,460	2,791	3,003	3,874	6,919	7,819	9,059	9,593
Cardross,	2,549	2,850	3,105	3,596	3,616	3,402	4,168	4,405
Cumbernauld,	1,795	2,176	2,864	3,080	4,501	3,778	3,513	3,602
Dumbarton,	2,541	3,121	3,481	3,623	4,391	5,445	8,268	11,423
Kilmaronock,	879	898	1,008	999	931	1,033	1,085	978
Kilpatrick, East,	2,312	2,608	2,530	3,090	3,457	4,206	4,910	6,038
Kilpatrick, West,	2,844	3,428	3,692	5,879	7,020	5,921	5,577	5,346
Kirkintilloch,	3,210	3,740	4,580	5,888	8,880	8,426	8,179	8,257
Luss,	953	965	1,150	1,181	1,052	907	831	730
Rosneath,	632	747	754	825	941	1,044	1,626	1,780
Row,	970	1,243	1,759	2,032	3,717	4,372	6,334	8,439
	21,615	24,943	28,302	34,626	46,005	46,915	54,179	61,116

ABSTRACT OF VALUATION OF DUMBARTONSHIRE PARISHES.

	1855-56.	1859-60.	1876-77.
Arrochar,	£ 3,594 12 7	£ 3,921 12 0	£ 5,160 13 0
Bonhill,	19,960 2 1	21,611 13 10	34,518 18 1
Cardross,	12,327 17 2	12,858 6 8	21,127 9 5
Cumbernauld,	12,798 15 7	13,501 4 11	17,386 13 9
Dumbarton (Parliamentary Burgh),	15,004 6 0	18,622 10 8	39,152 7 6
Dumbarton (Landward),	3,248 7 3	3,417 11 2	4,362 5 0
Kilmaronock,	6,578 13 3½	7,145 4 11	9,421 0 5
Kilpatrick (East),	13,398 13 1	14,298 10 9	32,959 10 5
Kilpatrick (West),	22,074 2 1	21,918 13 9	34,521 8 7
Kirkintilloch,	18,203 16 5	19,324 17 9	42,598 3 0
Luss,	4,450 19 2	4,754 11 6	5,974 0 2
Rosneath,	8,636 19 10	11,997 4 1	22,033 5 5½
Row,	22,218 2 1	31,568 16 8	65,974 18 4
Railways and Canals, etc. (in County),	28,777 4 11	42,208 5 3	71,561 0 0
Total,	£191,272 11 6½	£227,149 3 11	£406,751 13 1½

LOCHLOMOND.



XTENDING along the east side of Luss parish, and the more northerly parish of Arrochar, shut in on the opposite side by the lofty mountains of west Stirlingshire, till it spreads out at the southern end, over the level lands of Buchanan, Kilmaronock, and Bonhill, Lochlomond has long had the pre-eminent distinction of being queen among Scottish lakes. "I have seen (says Dr. Smollett), the Lago di Gardi, Albano, De Vico, Bolsena, and Geneva, but prefer Lochlomond to them all." Professor Wilson, who can hardly be said to have been a prejudiced observer, is still more enthusiastic on the beauties of this inland sea. "Oh! (he exclaims) for the plumes and pinions of the poised eagle, that we might hang over Lochlomond, and all her isles. From what point of the compass should we come on our rushing wings? Up from Leven banks, or down from Glenfalloch, or over the Hill of Luss, or down to Rowardennan, and then up and away as the chance currents in the sky might lead, with the glory of Scotland, blue, bright, and breaking into foam, thousands on thousands of feet below, with every island distinct in the peculiar beauty of its own youthful or ancient woods." Dorothy Wordsworth, too, with a taste even more refined than that of the Professor, is equally enthusiastic about the beauties of Lochlomond. The scene from the top of Inchtavanach, was to her like the flash of images from another

world. "We stood (she records in her 'Tour') with our backs to the hill of the island, which we were ascending, and which shut out Ben Lomond entirely, and all the upper part of the lake, and we looked towards the foot of the lake, scattered over with islands without beginning and without end. The sun shone, and the distant hills were visible, some through sunny mists, others in gloom with patches of sunshine; the lake was lost under the low and distant hills and the islands lost in the lake, which was all in motion with travelling fields of light, or dark shadows under rainy clouds. There are many hills, but no commanding eminence at a distance to confine the prospect, so that the land seemed endless as the water. What I had heard of Lochlomond, or any other place in Great Britain, had given me no idea of anything like what we beheld; it was an outlandish scene—we might have believed ourselves in North America. The islands were of every possible variety of shape and surface—hilly and level, large and small, bare, rocky, pastoral, or covered with wood. Immediately under my eyes lay one large flat island, bare and green, so flat and low that it scarcely appeared to rise above the water, with straggling peat-stacks and a single hut upon one of its outshooting promontories—for it was of a very irregular shape, though perfectly flat. Another, its next neighbour, and still nearer to us, was covered over with heath and coppice-wood, the surface undulating, with flat or sloping banks towards the water, and hollow places, cradle-like valleys behind. These two islands, with Inchtavanach, where we were standing, were intermingled with the water, I might say interbedded and interveined with it, in a manner that was exquisitely pleasing."¹

¹ Miss Wordsworth continues in her Journal:—"There were bays innumerable, straits or passages like calm rivers, land-locked lakes, and, to the main water, stormy promontories. The solitary hut on the flat

green island seemed unsheltered and desolate, and yet not wholly so, for it was but a broad river's breadth from the covert of the wood of the other island. Near to these is a miniature, an islet covered with trees, on which

Measuring in a straight line from the head of the loch at Ardlui, to the mouth at Balloch, it may be said to extend to twenty-two miles, but the course taken by the steamboat between these points is rather over than within thirty miles. The south end of the loch, where it widens out to the distance of four and five miles, from shore to shore, is thickly studded with beautifully wooded islets, which gives to Lochlomond much of its peculiar charm to travellers. Several of these are rich in historical associations ; the most important probably in this respect, being Inchmurren, the largest and most southerly of the group. On the decay of the castle at Balloch, and probably from a feeling of the greater security it afforded, the Duchess, Isabella of Lennox, retired to the family seat on Inchmurren after the cruel execution of her relatives by James I. in 1425. The

stands a small ruin that looks like the remains of a religious house ; it is overgrown with ivy, and were it not that the arch of a window or gateway may be distinctly seen, it would be difficult to believe that it was not a tuft of trees growing in the shape of a ruin, rather than a ruin overshadowed by trees. When we had walked a little further we saw below us, on the nearest large island, where some of the wood had been cut down, a hut, which we conjectured to be a bark hut. It appeared to be on the shore of a little forest lake, enclosed by Inchtavanch, where we were, and the woody island on which the hut stands. Beyond we had the same intricate view as before, and could discover Dumbarton Rock with its double head. There being a mist over it, it had a ghost-like appearance—as I observed to William and Coleridge, something like the Tor of Glastonbury from the Dorsetshire hills. Right before us, on the flat island mentioned before were several small single trees or shrubs,

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growing at different distances from each other, close to the shore, but some optical delusion had detached them from the land on which they stood, and they had the appearance of so many little vessels sailing along the coast of it. I mention the circumstance, because, with the ghostly image of Dumbarton Castle, and the ambiguous ruin on the small island, it was much in the character of the scene, which was throughout magical and enchanting—a new world in its great permanent outline and composition, and changing at every moment in every part of it by the effect of sun and wind, and mist and shower and cloud, and the blending lights and deep shades which took the place of each other, traversing the lake in every direction. The whole was indeed a strange mixture of soothing and restless images, of images inviting to rest, and others hurrying the fancy away into an activity still more pleasing than repose.”—“Dorothy Wordsworth's Tour in Scotland, 1803.”

X X

castle is not much spoken of as a stronghold during the wars with which Scotland was afflicted under the house of Stuart, but its occupancy by the house of Lennox can be sufficiently established from various charters and agreements bearing to have been drawn up on this island retreat. Latterly, it seems to have been more used as a hunting lodge during the season than a regular residence.¹ Inchmurren is now the property of the Duke of Montrose, by whom it is used principally as a deer park. The old castle situated on a hill of easy ascent, is now a crumbling ruin. A modern lodge has been erected lower down, nearer the edge of the island. Inchmurren seems formerly to have been attached for parochial purposes to the parish of Inchcalliache, the church of which was on an island between two and three miles north eastward. It now forms part of Buchanan parish, but for civil purposes continued to be reckoned as within the jurisdiction of the Sheriff of Dumbartonshire even before that Sheriffship was united to Stirlingshire.

Inchcalliache close on the eastern mainland near the Pass of Balmaha was a free rectory, and stood fixed in Biamond's roll at £26, 13s. 4d. The church was dedicated to Saint Kentigerna, a widow reputed to have been of great sanctity, and described as

¹ Notice of it, when used in this way, will be found in the extracts formerly quoted from the Books of the Lord Treasurer (*ante*, p. 133). Inchmurren was among the places visited by James VI., when in Scotland in 1617. Ludovick, second Duke of Lennox, despatched on the occasion the following epistle to his "Very good Lord, the Lord of Kilsyth," Sir William Livingston :—

"My hartly commendations remembered, these are to give you notice that his Ma^{ty} hath changed his resolution of breaking his fast at the Castle of Dumbertane, now hee

hath concluded to dyne at Inchmerin, where his dinner shall bee sent, and there are tents to be provyded for that effect as you told me ; and you must expect a good nombre of sharpe stomaches. You must take some care also that boats may be in readines againe his Ma^{ty} come hither : so I rest your loving friende,—LENOX.

"If there bee two tents they will serve ; if but one, there must bee some sommer houses drest up for the Lords and the company.

"Glasgow, the 23d of July, 1617."

performing many miracles during her retirement on the island. The foundation of the old parish church may still be traced ; and lying around, neglected and moss-covered, the mouldering memorials of various members of the Clan Gregor. One in memory of a natural son of Alexander Macgregor of Glenstrae, who led his clan against the Colquhouns at Glenfruin, records that "Heir Lyes Gregor M'Gregor of that Ilk, who ended his life on the 9th of Februarie 1623, and of his age, 32."¹ Clarinch, also in Stirlingshire, and famous as the slogan or war-cry of the Buchanan family, was granted early in the thirteenth century by Maldowen, third Earl of Lennox, to Absalon, son of Macbed, to be held by him and his heirs in feu and heritage, the reddendo being one pound of wax yearly at the nativity of our Lord. Other Inches or smaller islands, known as Elans, within Stirlingshire, are Tor-Inch, Croy-Inch, made mention of in the fourteenth century, as belonging to heirs of the deceased Sir Thomas de Cremennane, Inch-Fad or Long Island, let as a farm, Inch-Cruin or round island, once a favourite asylum for the intemperate, and Buck-Inch, the property of Campbell of Strachur.

The remaining islands in Lochlomond may be set down as lying in Dumbartonshire, and included for the most part within the barony of Luss. North-west from Inchmurren is Inch-Galbraith, so called from the residence of a family of that name who also possessed the property on the mainland known as Bannachra. Inch-Lonaig is thought to be identical with the island granted about 1225 by Maldowen Earl of Lennox to Gilmychel of Bandry. To furnish the Lennox men with trusty bows this island was planted with yew trees, on the advice of King Robert Bruce. It has long been used as a deer-park by the

¹ In "The Lady of the Lake," Scott describes the Fiery Cross as—

"A slender crosslet formed with care.
A cubit's length in measure due,

The shaft and limbs were rods of yew,
Whose parents in Inch-calloche wave,
Their shadows o'er Clan Alpine's grave ;
And answering Lomond's breezes deep,
Soothe many a chieftain's endless sleep."

family of Colquhoun of Luss. A melancholy interest has been in recent times attached to it, as the island visited by the late Sir James Colquhoun, Bart., for a day's shooting with his brother, 18th December 1873, when his boat on returning to Rossdhu got swamped in a sudden squall, and Sir James (with three gamekeepers and a boy) was drowned almost in sight of his own mansion.¹ The keeper of the island, Archibald Colquhoun, after being seized with what appeared as heart disease, was found frozen to death in his boat, 18th March, 1876.² Inch-Connachan, or Colquhoun Island, once inhabited, like most of the other islands, is now well covered with natural oak and Scotch firs. Inch-Tavannach, or the Isle of the Monk's House, and separated from Inch-Connachan by a winding channel known as "The Narrows," is amongst the most conspicuous of the islands, and commands one of the finest views of the loch. In 1329 it passed from the Crown to Logan of Balvie, then to M'Aulay of Ardincaple, and in 1613 to Alexander Colquhoun of Luss. Inch-Moan or Peat island, held with Bandry by the Galbraiths, passed afterwards to Napier of Merchiston. Among the lesser islands within the barony of Arrochar at the north end of the loch, are Eilean-na-Uglas or Inveruglas, and Eilean-a-Vhow, each at one time the residence of the chiefs of Clanfarlane.³

Those carefully protected islands, as well as the woods bordering the loch, afford shelter to a great variety of singing birds and wild fowl. It is not so very many years since the osprey used to nest on the old castle of Inch-Galbraith, and the kite in Kenmure Wood. Even yet a golden eagle may sometimes be seen soaring over the hills at the upper end of the loch. The high rocks

¹ See also Luss Parish—Colquhoun Family, vol. ii.

² Angus Colquhoun, brother to the above Archibald, has been drawn in "The High-

landers of Scotland," with four others, as representing the Colquhoun Clan.

³ See Arrochar Parish — Macfarlane Family, vol. ii.

of Inch-Tavannach are the nesting-place for jackdaws and kestrels, and sometimes a pair of barn owls ; and in all the woods of the neighbourhood many kinds of warblers are abundant. Almost every mountain stream has a pair of dippers, or "water-craws," as they are called in the neighbourhood ; and on the top of some of the higher hills ptarmigan are found, and snow buntings in severe winters.

In winter the loch is a harbour for many kinds of ducks, and occasionally geese and wild swans. But there is perhaps no spot in the district so full of interest to the lover of nature as Inch-moan or the Peat Island, which is the breeding-place of many gulls, terns, and ducks, sand-pipers, and small birds. In the breeding season, when all the birds have gathered, the low island is a busy place ; and there are few finer sights than to see the birds rise when disturbed at the approach of an intruder. The great black-backed gulls fly overhead uttering their hoarse loud croak ; while the terns, with their sharper cry, dash backwards and forwards in their swallow-like flight, their white plumage showing to perfection against the dark wooding of Bandry and Inch-Tavannach. From the beach is heard the trilling whistle of the common sand-piper, or the single note of the dunlin, which mingle not unpleasantly with the louder cries of their larger neighbours.¹

Lochlomond has been repeatedly frozen over in modern times : once in 1814 ; again in 1838, when the ice bore well from the 14th February to the 1st March ; a third time in the severe winter of 1855, when the ice bore from 19th February till 24th February ; and again in the winter of 1874-75, when the ice bore for a few days about the New Year. Inchmurren was reached by some adventurous youths on the 29th December, and next day by a lady, each receiving

¹ "Sketch Paper on the Birds of Loch- | Proceedings of the Natural History Society
Lomond," by James Lumsden, jun., Esq. | of Glasgow, Session 1875-6.

the usual gift from the gamekeeper, of a pair of deer's horns. About the beginning of the present century, various surveys were made of Lochlomond with the view of connecting it by the Leven with the Frith of Clyde on the one side and by the chain of lochs from Loch Katrine with the Frith of Forth on the other ; but the schemes, one after another, were abandoned as impracticable or unremunerative.



VALE OF LEVEN INDUSTRIES:

TURKEY-RED DYEING AND PRINTING.



ONE of the most important manufactures in the county is the art of Turkey-red dyeing, carried on upon the banks of the river Leven—a stream flowing from Lochlomond through a valley of great natural beauty, till it falls into the Clyde at Dumbarton Castle. The peculiar suitability of this water for washing and dyeing purposes, from its purity and softness, and freedom from lime or other mineral substance, has made it the chief seat of this manufacture in Scotland.¹ The growth and development of the bleaching,

¹ From a Report prepared by Professor Penny in the summer of 1867, the following appears as the result of twelve different experiments, with samples lifted at so many different points in the Leven :—

	Organic Matter Grains.	Saline Matter Grains.	Total Grains.	Hardness. Degrees.
No. 0. — Water taken from the River Leven May 10th, about 100 yards above the Balloch Suspension Bridge,	1'20	2'47	3'67	1
No. 1. — Water taken from the River Leven May 10th, between Balloch Bridge, and the upper works of Mr. A. Orr-Ewing, .	1'26	2'47	3'73	
No. 2. — Water taken from the River Leven May 10th, between the ferry-boat of A. Orr-Ewing's cloth-dyeing works, and the ferry-boat belonging to his yarn or Milton works,	1'40	2'40	3'80	1'2
No. 3. — Water taken from the River Leven below the lade of Mr. A. Orr-Ewing's yarn works (well over to his side of the water, and near the Dalmonach inlet), . . .	1'46	2'40	3'86	1'2

printing, and dyeing works on the banks of the river Leven, is a most interesting feature of the industrial history of our country. Even a slight study of it may serve to show how the classic stream and quiet

	Organic Matter Grains.	Saline Matter Grains.	Total Grains.	Hardness. Degrees.
No. 4. — Water taken from the River Leven May 10th, midway between the outlet of A. O. Ewing's Brothers' lade, and Dalmonach works outlet of lade at Bonhill Bridge,	1'50	2'80	4'30	1'3
No. 5. — Water taken from the River Leven, midway between Bonhill Bridge and Dillichip Works, belonging to A. O.-Ewing, Esq.,	1'60	2'66	4'26	1'5
No. 6. — Water taken from the River Leven, May 10th, midway between outlet of Dillichip lade, and the outlet of Cordale Works' lade,	1'50	2'60	4'10	1'5
No. 7. — Water taken from the River Leven, May 10th, midway between the outlet of Cordale Lade, and the intake of Dalquhurn Works' lade,	1'60	2'70	4'30	1'5
No. 8. — Water taken from the River Leven, May 10th, about half-a-mile below the Dalquhurn Works' lade.	1'73	2'53	4'26	1'5
No. 9. — Water taken from the River Leven, May 10th, at the point below the broad meadow, which is about 100 yards above the Dumbarton Railway Bridge,	1'80	2'60	4'40	1'5
No. 10. — Water taken from the River Leven, May 10th, immediately below the Chemical Works,	1'70	2'60	4'30	1'5
No. 11. — Water taken from the River Leven, May 10th, at Castle Green, which is below Dumbarton and Denny's Yard,	1'80	2'80	4'60	1'5

From the result (Professor Penny continues) it is manifest, that as regards the quantities of organic and saline ingredients in solution in the water, these samples were substantially identical. With the exception of No. 11 sample, the organic matter was

pastoral arcadia of Smollett became changed ; how the outcome of these manufactures has affected the people, and led to social changes ; and how the enterprise and industry of our early manufacturers

purely of a vegetable nature. It was, in my opinion, perfectly harmless, and in no way hurtful to fish, or as to the primary uses of the water. The saline matter, which consisted of the carbonates of lime and magnesia, with small quantities of chlorides and sulphates, was equally devoid of noxious qualities, and was similar to what is found in ordinary river and burn waters. The samples were carefully tested for the presence of prejudicial metallic matters, but not the slightest trace of any of the poisonous or noxious metals was detected. It is also important to notice, that these samples remained perfectly fresh after being kept in a close vessel for several days, showing the absence of putrescent organic substances. In a word, the result of the examination of the samples No. 0 to No. 10. are conclusive, to my mind, in showing that whatever pollution may have been discharged into the river, during the time that the samples were being collected ; the total quantity of polluting matter was so insignificant or infinitesimal, as compared with the enormous volume of water in the river itself, that neither the normal qualities nor chemical composition of the water, was materially affected thereby.

Another report mentions that—

Water from Loch Katrine contains 1·43 parts organic matter, according to Dr. Wallace.

Water from outflow of Loch Lomond contains 1·80 parts organic matter, by analysis of Dr. Penny.

Water gravitation supply to the village of Alexandria, from hill on west side of Valley, contains 3 parts organic matter, by Dr. Penny's analysis.

Burn on hill, west side of valley, but further north than that yielding gravitation supply, contains 4 parts organic matter, by analysis of R. Tatloch, F.R.S.E., F.C.S.

Black Linn on east side of valley yielding part gravitation, supply to the Burgh of Dumbarton, contains 3 parts organic matter, by analysis of Dr. Wallace.

From the nature of the soil around the Loch, I am of the opinion that the analysis just given, represent fairly the bulk of water falling into Loch Lomond, by Dr. Penny's analysis of water, from the outflow of the Loch, the organic matter it contains is less than that contained in the hill waters of the east and west sides of the valley, but this can be accounted for by springs of water in the basin of the Loch itself not yielding organic matter, and thus diluting that contained in the hill supply. I am aware that organic matter, in the analysis given, is not wholly composed of organic carbon, but as this element has not been determined in any of the analysis referred to, I may safely assume it to be similar to woody fibre, which contains 44 of carbon in 100 parts, and applying this assumption to the 3 part of organic matter contained in the hill water, we have 1·2 parts organic carbon, leaving ·8 only as a limit for manufacturing purposes. A sample of water taken from the lade, while washing 5 pieces of cloth from bleaching pot, and analysed by Dr. Penny, gave 4½ parts organic matter, and a sample of water drawn from Dalmonach Lade, when the works were in operation, contained 7 parts organic matter in solution.

enabled them to compete successfully with other countries in the quality and cheapness of goods. During last century the Dutch held the first place for bleaching, and it was customary to send goods from this country into Holland to be bleached there. It was about the middle of the century ere the first successful attempt was made in Scotland to compete with Holland in the bleaching trade, the unfailing supply of pure fresh water from Lochlomond contributing considerably to the success of the early works erected on the banks of the Leven. The old inhabitants of the district still remember the grass fields at the works, intersected by narrow canals, with rows of beech hedges between them. The cloth was spread out on the grass, water lifted from the canals, and sprinkled over it. The beech hedges being very close and thickly cropped, afforded shelter to the cloth from being blown about by the wind. But the discovery of chlorine by Scheele, and of its properties by Berthollet, led to those important improvements which have entirely superseded this old primitive method of bleaching. Dalquhurn, first erected as a bleach-work in 1715, was used for a number of years by William Stirling & Sons, in connection with Cordale print works. The early bleachers soon began to add dyeing to their other operations. Turnbull & Jones, who succeeded William Stirling & Sons at Croftingea in 1802, began in 1827 to dye fancy and Turkey-red yarns; and William Stirling & Sons began, in 1828, to dye Turkey-red cloth at Dalquhurn works. This has been successfully carried on by them without interruption since that date.

The Turkey-red dyeing process consists of the following operations; bleaching the goods, to give a clean bottom; saturating them repeatedly in a solution made of olive oil and soda; removing any excess of oil; mordanting to give affinity for dye-stuffs; dyeing by madder, garancine, or alizarine; clearing or brightening by soap in boiler under pressure. Animal fibres, such as wool and silk, are treated in a different manner. Although

no Turkey-red colour can be produced without treating the cloth with oil, no explanation quite satisfactory can be given of the real effect of oil in the process. There is still much to be learned as to the laws governing the action and combination of dyes. It has even been affirmed by high authorities that there is no chemical theory of dyeing worthy of the name.

In the progress of the art of Turkey-red dyeing, there are three well defined stages of improvements. First, the invention of the new process of dyeing by Steiner of Accrington; second, the discovery of garancine by De Claubry and Persoz; third, the discovery of commercial artificial alizarine. It is difficult to determine the first discovery or invention of the art of Turkey-red dyeing, one of the most brilliant and durable of dyed colours. There is, however, authentic historical evidence of its remote antiquity, and the early proficiency attained in the practise of the art. It was first discovered in India, and afterwards the art was practised for many centuries in Persia, Armenia, and in Greece, before it became known to Western Europe. About 1750, it was first established in France, by Greek dyers, and about 1790, it was first practised in Manchester, by M. Borelles, a Frenchman. A few years later, M. Papillon, also a Frenchman, introduced a better system of the process into Glasgow, at the works of Henry Monteith & Co., by which Glasgow became famous for its Turkey-red dyes. The first published account of the process was in 1765, by order of the French Government. In 1790, a grant was voted by the British Government to a Frenchman to disclose the method; but about the same time Mr. Wilson of Ainsworth, near Manchester, obtained the secret from the Greek dyers, and made it public. At first the dye was applied to yarns only, but came to be extended to piece goods or cloths, by M. Koechlin of Malhausen. According to Bancroft, the process practised in India was in its main particulars the same as those pursued by the dyers in Europe, except that in India, the chaya-

root was used as the dyeing material instead of madder. French madder is the root of the *rubia-tinctorum*, Linn., and Levant madder of the *rubia-peregrina*. The trade, like others in the textile manufactures, has undergone many changes and improvements, and may be said to be daily in a state of transition. The process of its development has also been somewhat slow in contrast to many other industries brought to maturity almost at once. However, considering the complicated nature of the process, the widely diverse manipulation of yarns and cloth, the necessary association of chemistry and mechanics in the process, and how seldom a knowledge of both are to be found in the same individual, may be held as partly accounting for the fact, that from the time goods go into process till finished, it still takes from 24 to 30 days to dye them Turkey-red.

The first stage of decided improvement in the art was made in 1836, by Mr. Steiner of Accrington, near Manchester, by the invention of the "new process," a system of dyeing Turkey-red, by which the goods are not exposed to the weather, as in the "old process," which makes it necessary to spread the cloth on the fields to be oxydized. His system enabled him to work continuously and conveniently during all seasons of the year; and so successful was he with his new system, that his dyes became the most celebrated in the trade. Till his death in 1870, Steiner stood in the front rank of dyers. His fame soon spread to the valley of the Leven, and in 1841, William Stirling & Son began to make trials of Steiner's system. For many years both the "old" and "new" systems were carried on by the Turkey-red dyers in this district for cloth, the yarns being all dyed by the old process still. Before Steiner's system was adopted, the work was carried on principally during the summer months, in winter the weather being unsuitable for spreading out cloth on the grass fields, the workers were mostly idle. The quantity of work done previous to 1840 in the Vale of Leven, would be not more than ten parcels per diem, equal to 300 or 400 pieces

or thereby. The workers, chiefly Highlanders, who regularly came to the Vale of Leven at the beginning of summer, and returned to their homes during the winter months, were a frugal industrious class of people. The gradual introduction of machinery, requiring only to be attended by young persons, caused these stalwart Gaels to be dispensed with. At the present time there are three firms in the Vale of Leven engaged in the Turkey-red trade, giving employment to about 6000 persons, paying in wages £150,000 per annum, and capable of producing 25,000 lbs. of yarns, and 10,000 pieces of cloth per day. The buildings of these works cover an area each of at least ten acres of ground, and are provided with branch railways carried through the works, by which coal is conveyed from the pits, in trucks, direct to the fires where it is to be used. The yarns and cloth come from Lancashire into the warehouses within the work, and the finished goods are sent out in the same expeditious manner. To what extent the growth and development of this trade has been aided by the opening up of India by railways, bringing commodities to the doors of its teeming inhabitants, and by the enterprise and skill of those engaged in the business, would be difficult to say. What George Stephenson said of the locomotive engine is equally true of the Turkey-red dyeing: its perfection has not been the work of any one man, but of a race of men. The second stage of improvement was G. de Claubry and Persoz pointing out the advantages which result from submitting madder, previous to its being used, to the action of sulphuric acid, and then carefully washing out the acid with water. A product was thus obtained, which not only produced greater tinctorial power than the original material, but also dyed brighter colours. This important discovery was purely the result of scientific investigation, and for a long time did not receive from practical dyers and calico-printers, the appreciation which it deserved. This product, early known as sulphuric-carbon, and afterwards as garancine, was first manufactured by M. M. Lagier, and

Thomas of Avignon in 1829. At last it became so popular as to be principally used instead of madder. Garancine was not so fast a dye as madder, but it gave brighter colours, and was more economical. The third stage of improvement is the discovery of commercial artificial alizarine. The first researches made in reference to anthracene, were by Dumas and Laurent in 1832. Laurent further worked on this subject, obtaining by the oxydation of this hydrocarbon, a substance which he called anthracenuse. Dr. Anderson also made an investigation on anthracene and its compounds, in 1863, and assigned to it a correct formula; he also re-examined its oxydation product, which Laurent called anthracenuse, and named it oxyanthracene. This substance we now know as anthraquinon. All these discoveries were without any practical value until 1868, when Graebe and Liebermann found alizarine to yield, by destructive distillation, anthracene, a constituent of coal tar. Natural alizarine had previously been known as the principal dyeing agent in madder root. Having obtained this result, they were hopeful of finding some process by which alizarine could be produced from anthracene. In this they were successful. This important discovery of artificial alizarine was of great interest, as showing the formation of a vegetable product artificially, but the process was so expensive as to be of little or no practical value. In 1869, W. H. Perkins, Harrow, and Graebe and Liebermann came almost simultaneously upon a method by which anthracene, when combined with sulphuric acid, under proper treatment, produced alizarine more economically than hitherto. By the introduction of artificial alizarine, there is not a competition between two colouring matters, but the same from different sources, the old source being the madder root, the new one anthracene of coal tar; and when we consider the magnificent reds and bright fiery scarlet shades produced by artificial alizarine, its purity making the goods dyed with it much easier and cheaper in the clearing process, we cease to wonder that this new colouring matter has thrown the old

into the shade, and so influenced madder, that its price is now less than one-half of what it was. By this a saving of over half a million sterling per annum has been effected to the manufacturers of the United Kingdom, one-half of which may be put down to the Vale of Leven alone. At the present time, this artificial colour is manufactured to the extent of about 50,000 tons per annum. It is proper to mention, before closing this general statement regarding the Turkey-red trade, that the now venerable Peter M'Callum, presently of Netherlee Works, but formerly of Vale of Leven, has aided greatly in applying alizarine to the process. A short comparison of the statistics of the Turkey-red dyeing and printing trade in the Vale of Leven within the last forty years may be interesting. Without vouching for the details in every minute respect, they are given with as near an approximation to accuracy as can well be obtained. In 1835 the manufacturers of the article were Messrs. John Todd & Co., Messrs. William Stirling & Son, and John Orr-Ewing & Co. The production in that year was 4400 parcels of cloth; in 1875 it was not less than 130,000 parcels of cloth and yarns, or an increase of about thirtyfold. In 1835 there was printed 80,000 pieces; in 1875 750,000 pieces. In 1835 the wages paid amounted to £8800 per annum; in 1875 to £150,000. The people employed in 1835 were 350; in 1875, 5000 to 6000. The coal consumed in 1835 was 4250 tons; in 1875 100,000.

WILLIAM STIRLING & SONS, CORDALE AND DALQUHURN WORKS.

The oldest firm in the Vale is that of William Stirling & Sons, of Cordale and Dalquhurn. William Stirling, the original founder of the firm of William Stirling & Sons, was the son of John Stirling, a Virginian merchant, and Provost of Glasgow in 1728. Having selected men possessing a practical knowledge of calico-printing, he formed a partnership with them, and erected works on the banks of

the Kelvin at Dalsholm, Maryhill, where they printed handkerchiefs and garment cloth with considerable success. The scarcity and high price of labour in that district, made the cost of production too high, and they left Dalsholm for the Vale of Leven. In 1770, William Stirling feued the land of Cordale from John Campbell of Stonefield, took into partnership his three sons, Andrew, John, and James, and erected Cordale Print Works, where they carried on the business of calico-printing. Two years previous to this the Todd family began calico-printing at Levenfield, which was thus the oldest print work in the valley of the Leven. The works were for many years standing unemployed, but remained in the hands of the Todds till 1850, when they were purchased by Robert Alexander & Co., who succeeded John Orr-Ewing in Croftingea in 1845, and carried on the same business under the name of Robert Alexander & Co. until 1860. Dalquhurn works are the oldest in the district, being a feu disposition from William Cochrane of Kilmaronock in favour of Andrew Johnstone, and conveyed by him in 1728 to Walter Stirling and Archibald Buchanan as trustees for the Dalquhurn Bleaching Company. In 1791 the three brothers, Andrew, John, and James, became vested in the feu. In 1790 they built Croftingea Works, which was used by them as a bleach-work till 1802; they also built in 1798, Tillichewan Castle, now the residence of James Campbell, Esq. The Cordale and Dalquhurn Works were carried on for many years by George Stirling, who lived at Cordale House, and his brother William, who lived at Dalquhurn House. They were succeeded by William's three sons, James, Charles, and William, great-grandsons of the founder of the firm. James and Charles retired in 1854, leaving William in the firm, who carried on the business with much assiduity and enterprise till 1876, when he also retired, leaving the business in the hands of his partner John Matheson, jun. Like his predecessors in the firm, Mr Matheson has had a family connection with the calico-

printing and dyeing trade. His grandfather was manager at Henry Monteith & Co.'s works, where M. Papallon first began to dye Turkey-red in Scotland. His father carried on the business of calico-printing and Turkey-red dyeing at Barrhead, the firm being John Matheson & Co. John Matheson was born in Glasgow, and after receiving a good commercial education, commenced business life in the sale-room of his father. In 1846 he entered the house of William Stirling & Sons; his department being the sale-room, and the duties of which he discharged with marked ability. In 1857 he resided at Dalquhurn Cottage, and began to take some superintendence of the works. In 1859 Mr Matheson married Jessie, daughter of Robert Forrester, Esq., Glasgow. In 1866 he removed to his present residence, Cordale House. During the last twenty years he has been associated with the practical operations and extensions at the works, and shown much energy and sound technical knowledge of the business. In the good old days of cheap coal, cheap labour and easy competition, economy of manufacture was little studied; now, the most skilful appliances and economical arrangements have become necessary. In 1864 Mr Matheson went to India, the principal emporium for the sale of Turkey-red goods. Although the main object of this journey was of a mercantile nature, he found time to write an entertaining and instructive work, "England to Delhi," published by Longmans & Co. in 1870; treating of the habits and customs of the natives, and of the political and material resources of India. He made a second journey to India in 1875. As a citizen of Glasgow he has taken an active part in the institutions of the city. He has been chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and at the Social Science Congress held in Glasgow, October, 1874, he read a paper on "How can this country best prepare itself to meet the increased competition arising from the spread of manufacturing industries in Europe and America." Mr Matheson also read a paper at the last meeting of the British Association in Glasgow, on

"The Silver Currency," maintaining that it would be impolitic and futile for the Legislature to interfere with the laws that govern the precious metals as a measure and a medium of value, and that the only safe solution of the present depreciation of silver, is to leave it to the operation of those laws which will inevitably adjust themselves to meet such emergencies as they arise.

JOHN ORR-EWING & CO., CROFTINGEA AND LEVENFIELD
(NOW ALEXANDRIA WORKS).

The next oldest firm is that of John Orr-Ewing & Co. The senior partner of this firm is Mr. John Orr-Ewing, whose ancestors had been for many generations proprietors of the lands of Balloch. He was born at Borrowston, Stirlingshire; married 1840, William Jane Bennett, daughter of William Bennett, Esq. of Yoker Lodge, Renfrewshire. Mr. J. Orr-Ewing received his education in Glasgow, and began his business career about 1828 as clerk in a calender in Glasgow, with the intention of acquiring such a knowledge of goods as would prepare him for undertaking business in India. However, before three years had passed, his employer proposed that he should join him in the business of goods and yarn agents. To this he agreed, and was successful in it. Amongst the goods they sold were Turkey-reds, manufactured at Croftingea. A friend who bought some of them suggested that Mr. Orr-Ewing should manufacture as well as sell them, and offered to join him as a partner in doing so. The manufacturer of the Turkey-reds at Croftingea died within eight days after this offer was made, and the result was that Mr. Orr-Ewing became lessee of these works, within fourteen days after the death of the previous tenant. They commenced the trade of Turkey-red dyeing and printing, under the firm of John Orr-Ewing & Co., in 1835. The works were

very limited, but the business was lucrative, and although their capital was very small on commencing, they were enabled to increase the works rapidly. Besides extending the works and business, Mr. Orr-Ewing was also able materially to assist his brothers. In 1845 he sold his business to his partner, Mr. Robert Alexander. His brother Mr. Archibald Ewing then assumed the name of "Orr," and commenced the Turkey-red business he now continues under the firm of Archibald Orr-Ewing & Co. The Turkey-red business has thus been eminently the foundation of the mercantile success of the family of the Orr-Ewings. After retiring in 1845, Mr. Orr-Ewing bought the estate of Ratho in Midlothian, but still retained as landlord the half of Croftingea Works, which were carried on by R. Alexander & Co. for fifteen years, but without success. In 1859 it was proposed to him to buy not only all his old works, but also those of John Todd & Co., which he did, and then formed a new copartnery of John Orr-Ewing & Co. When the new copartnery commenced in 1860, he found the works producing less than when he left them in 1845. He has, however, made yearly very large additions to them, and they can now produce eight times the quantity they did in 1860. In the course of that year the firm, taking into consideration the great superiority of what was known as Steiner's process, the result in their opinion of his knowledge of chemistry, felt convinced that if they were to be as successful as Steiner, they must apply chemical science to their production, and arrange their process on chemical principles, as had been so abundantly successful in his case. This conviction was given effect to, and the consequence was, that in the year 1863, having made considerable progress with the new or Steiner process, the firm abandoned entirely the old, and set themselves to perfect this new or non-exposure process. About the end of 1863, their first change, which led to success, was put into operation. Step by step they found themselves steadily gaining ground, and approaching in colour

nearer to Steiner's, which they had taken as their standard. The continued inferiority in colour, although not so marked as formerly, led the firm into many chemical experiments to discover the reason why they failed in producing as good a colour as Steiner. They found that, although the introduction of garancine gave the Scotch dyers a certain advantage in brightening the colour over goods produced with madder, still they always failed at the colouring stage to produce a colour equal to Steiner's production, because they continued to use the madder or garancine without any chemical preparation to destroy the brown colouring matter that is associated with pure alizarine both in madder and garancine, and which invariably caused their red goods to be inferior to their standard. By a series of experiments extending over a space of many years, the firm became convinced that nothing but natural alizarine, extracted either from madder or garancine would produce the red colour they were aiming at. In 1868 a quantity of natural alizarine was prepared, and cloth dyed with it giving results fully equal to Steiner's colour. Having thus secured the key to the secret, the next step was the preparation in quantity of alizarine at a price within paying limits. While arrangements were in progress to manufacture natural alizarine, the German chemists, Messrs. Graebe and Lieberman, as already described, discovered a method of preparing alizarine artificially. This discovery put an end to the plan of J. O.-E. & Co. for becoming manufacturers of alizarine, as it placed in their hands ready-made, the very article they were arranging to prepare. They consequently gave up the idea, and became consumers of alizarine, although at first only in moderate quantities. The makers, however, soon made great improvements, and were successful in producing it equal to natural alizarine in purity and in shade. As soon as the firm found this they increased their consumption very rapidly, the only check being the very high price. Whenever the price became moderate so as to approach the same

cost as garancine, as it soon did, they almost entirely abandoned garancine and substituted alizarine in its place. The result was that they found themselves producing goods at last superior in colour to their standard, being that of Mr. Steiner's dye. The firm during the year ending 1st June 1876, produced as large a quantity of Turkey-red goods and yarn combined as any other in this country, yet the works were not wrought up to their full power of production, being capable of turning out one-fourth more of both cloth and yarn than they did that year. The consumpt of coals during the year was 32,133 tons, the steam-power employed 540 horse-power, and the wages paid for manufacturing purposes, £54,460.

ARCHIBALD ORR-EWING & CO., LENNOX-BANK, MILTON, AND DILLICHIP WORKS.

Dropping down the Leven from Balloch, the first works, but not oldest in point of date, are those at Leven Bank on the east side of the river, owned by Messrs. Archibald Orr-Ewing & Co. This firm began the business of Turkey-red dyeing and printing in June 1845, having bought Levenbank Works and lands from John Stewart, Esq. of Lennox-Bank, who died in 1873, at the advanced age of 95 years. These works had been built in 1784 by Messrs. Watson & Arthur and others, and were long in the possession of Messrs. John Stewart & Co. Their turn-out of work, as might be expected in those early days of the trade, was not large, though it included most varieties then produced in cotton handkerchiefs and shawls. As the business of the new firm of Archibald Orr-Ewing & Co. was quite different from what had previously been carried on, great alterations and additions were made from time to time, and at present not one of the old buildings remain within the boundary of the works. At Levenbank the workmen are employed

solely in Turkey-red dyeing and printing cloth. In 1850 the firm bought Milton Works and lands from the late John Todd, Esq. of Levenfield, at one time partner with Mr. Shortridge, father of the late esteemed Mrs. James Burns of Bloomhill and Kilmahew. These works had been built by Messrs. Todd & Shortridge in 1772. They were comparatively small, and were purchased by the new firm for the purpose of carrying on Turkey-red yarn-dyeing, a trade which has increased even more rapidly than cloth-dyeing. In 1866, Archibald Orr-Ewing & Co. bought Dillichip Works, lower down the Leven, from the trustees of the late Robert Arthur, Esq. These they have largely increased in extent and improved in efficiency, by the construction of a branch railway from Alexandria, through the grounds of Bonhill Place, and the erection of a bridge across the Leven to connect Dillichip Works with the North British Railway system. Turkey-red yarns are produced there as well as at Milton. The firm have also bought the lands of Mill of Haldane from Mr. James M'Allister; the lands of Arthurston from Mr. John Ritchie; the Mill of Balloch and adjoining lands from Mr. Peter M'Allister; and the lands of Kirkland from the trustees of the late Mr. Matthew Perston. They have also built a large number of houses for their work-people, and to each house a garden, washing-house, and bleaching-green is attached. At their three works, when in full operation, Archibald Orr-Ewing & Co. employ upwards of 2000 people; the consumption of coal reaches 31,000 tons yearly; they use daily upwards of 4,500,000 gallons of water in the different processes, and have steam power equal to 464 horse-power. They expend in the district yearly £90,000 in wages and to tradesmen. The different works are capable of turning out daily 3500 pieces of Turkey-red cloth, and 12,000 lbs. of Turkey-red yarn, a larger proportion than was produced in Great Britain when Archibald Orr-Ewing & Co. commenced business in 1845. The head of the firm, Archibald Orr-Ewing, Esq., M.P. for Dumbartonshire,

acted as Lord Dean of Guild of the City of Glasgow from 1863 to 1865, and during that period caused to be printed and presented to members a lengthy and interesting record, known as a "View of the Merchants' House of Glasgow." He also took an active part in promoting the erection of the new University buildings on Gilmorehill, and besides subscribing largely himself, assisted in making such representations as secured substantial aid from the Government of Lord Derby to carry on the work. In 1862 he purchased the estate of Ballikinrain, Stirlingshire, and erected a mansion there in the Scottish baronial style, from designs prepared by the late Mr. Bryce, Edinburgh. About the same time he purchased Edenbellie, also in Stirlingshire, and more recently, Gollanfield, Inverness-shire. On the retirement of P. B. Smollett, Esq., in 1868, from the representation of Dumbartonshire, Mr. Archibald Orr-Ewing was elected without opposition, but not before a canvass had been engaged in by opposing Liberals on behalf of George Campbell, Esq. of Edenwood, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and M.P. for Kirkcaldy Burghs. At the next general election in 1874, Mr. Orr-Ewing, who was in Rome at the dissolution of Parliament, was opposed as a Conservative by J. W. Burns, Esq. of Kilmahew, but succeeded in carrying his election by a majority of 53, the numbers being—Orr-Ewing, 995; Burns, 942.¹ Mr. Orr-Ewing has been a Member of the University Court of Glasgow University for six years, was a Director of the Glasgow and Helensburgh, and of the Forth and Clyde Railways at their formation. He is also a Deputy-Lieutenant and Justice of Peace for the Counties of Lanark, Stirling, and Dumbarton. In 1847 he married Elizabeth Lindsay, only child of James Reid, Esq. of Berriedale and Caldercruix, Lanarkshire, and by her has five sons and two daughters.

¹ See also County Election Contests, vol. i. pp. 337-8.

CALICO-PRINTING.

In 1738 calico-printing was first introduced into Scotland. There are numerous styles now practised in the trade. In Turkey-red printing the whole surface of the cloth is first dyed one uniform colour, and the designs of other colours printed on it by discharge mixtures. After the cloth is printed, it is dipped in a solution of chloride of lime, when the red ground on which the particular part of the mixtures was printed is erased. Mixtures of various pigment colours are used, and in some cases the cloth is passed through a solution of bichrome, which produces a yellow, the ground being always Turkey-red. The largest part of the cloth, and all the yarns dyed Turkey-red, are exported in the plain red state, the remainder printed with designs peculiar to the taste of Hindoos and Mahomedans, consisting of peacocks and elephants. By several improvements and inventions, a wonderful progress has been made in the art of calico-printing, one of the most important improvements being the invention of the cylinder printing machine by Mr. Bell of Glasgow. The printing branch of the trade is carried on at all the three works already described.

DALMONACH PRINT WORKS.

Dalmonach Print-Work was commenced about the year 1786. Between this and 1835, various firms seem to have been in possession of it,—as “Kibble, Buchanan, & Co.,” “Kibble, Foster, & Co.,” “Kibble, Roxburgh, & Co.,” and “James and John Kibble & Co.” In 1812, an extensive fire occurred at Dalmonach, by which it was mostly destroyed. At the rebuilding of it in that and the following year, Mr. Henry Bell, of steam navigation celebrity, was the architect. In 1814, the first two colours wrought by cylinder at Dalmonach were printed by a long surviving native of the vale, John M'Adam.

Since then machine printing has gradually progressed, and twenty-five printing machines, of from one to sixteen colours, are in operation, capable of producing upwards of 25,000,000 yards of printed goods per year. The goods produced are sold largely both in the home and foreign trade. About 1835, Dalmonach passed into the hands of James Black & Co., who have retained possession of it ever since, and by whom, particularly by the extraordinary enterprise of the late Mr. Black's partner, James Scott, Esq. of Glasgow, it attained a position, in the foremost rank, for cambric and fancy muslin prints. In 1857, the name of the firm was changed to the "Dalmonach Printing Company," but again became James Black & Co. till 1866, when the firm was James Black, Drew, & Co. In 1871, on Mr. Drew retiring, the old designation was re-adopted, and is now (1877) the name of the firm, Mr. John Miller and Mr. A. C. Scott (son of Mr. James Scott) being town partners, and Mr. E. J. Jones (from S. Schwabe & Co's works, in 1863,) being managing partner at the works. It is rather a singular co-incidence, that Messrs. James Black & Co. in Scotland, and Messrs. Drew & Sons in Lancashire, have taken the lead, and quite independently of each other, in perfecting and extending the use of the new product, artificial alizarine, into the calico-printing business,—alizarine reds now being the leading feature in the trade of these two firms. In addition to garment and muslin goods, Dalmonach now produces large quantities of furniture prints, including cretonnes, twills, satteens, and figured dimity chintzes. At Dalmonach all the various departments required in calico-printing are carried on. These are engraving, block-printing, singeing, bleaching, printing, dyeing, and finishing, with the subordinate processes arising therefrom. The engraving department is a large and commodious building, in which there is apparatus for taking photographic copies of certain patterns. These are enlarged by a camera five times the size of the pattern, on a zinc plate. The plate is put in a pentagraph machine, and by a

very ingenious arrangement, the pattern is produced the original small size on the copper roller, by diamond points scratching off the varnish where the pattern is intended to be bitten out by the acid in the following etching process. Pentagraph engraving is the most recent and ingenious; but die-cutting and mill-engraving are very interesting. Hand engraving is still used for large patterns and for the zinc plates. There are upwards of a dozen pentagraph machines, and eight machines for mill-engraving, also machines for eccentric line engraving, etc. There is a staff of designers in this department. The works occupy about four acres, and afford employment to upwards of 900 persons of both sexes, whose aggregate wages amount to about £30,000 annually. The changes that have been made in Dalmonach within these few years past are, to those whose acquaintance with it dates from an earlier period, very striking. The vegetable dye-stuffs, madder and garancine, formerly largely used, are now almost entirely superseded by the recently discovered product from coal or anthracene—viz., artificial alizarine—which gives a much brighter colour than the old dye-stuffs would yield. Block-printing, which at one period gave employment to a good many workers, but became almost defunct, is again busy, owing to changing of styles, and now employs about one hundred printers. From fifty-five to sixty tons of coals (according to styles of work) are used per day for fuel for twenty steam boilers. The consumpt of gas, which is manufactured on the works, amounts to about two and a-quarter million feet per year.

FERRYFIELD WORKS.

Ferryfield, on the Alexandria side of the Leven, was commenced as a block-printing establishment in 1831, by Messrs. Guthrie & Kinloch. Various changes afterwards took place in the partnership, and the works lay idle for some time. The different branches of the trade already described are now (1877) being actively carried on by Messrs. Wilson & Brodie.

MILLBURN WORKS.

At Millburn, near the junction of Cardross and Bonhill parishes, extensive pyrolignous works have been carried on for over seventy years by different members of the family of Messrs. Turnbull, Bonhill Place.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

Other works connected with the Turkey-red and printing trade are copperplate and roller engraving, carried on by Mr. Alexander Brown at Charleston, Alexandria; and dyewoods and extracts, by Messrs. M'Gregor & Adams, at Jameston.

VALE OF LEVEN WORKMEN.

As a class the workmen of the Vale of Leven have long been remarkable for their intelligence; the labour required in some of the departments in connection with the manufacturing establishments demands from those performing it a very high degree of inventive and imitative ability. A Mechanics' Institution was established in 1834, and has been carried on with great success to the present time. The members have no rooms of their own, but their library, kept in Alexandria Public Hall, is extensive and valuable; and during the winter months lectures are delivered under the auspices of the institution, by gentlemen eminent in the walks of literature, science, and art. As a rule the workmen take a keen interest in politics; and in the bygone agitating days of the Charter, several made themselves conspicuous by their efforts in what they judged to be the cause of popular liberty.

END OF VOLUME I.

